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**UNIVERSIDADE ESTADUAL DE CAMPINAS
INSTITUTO DE FILOSOFIA E CIÊNCIAS HUMANAS**

KATIUSCIA MORENO GALHERA

**INTERNATIONAL UNION NETWORKS AND INTERSECTIONALITY:
garment and steel global supply chains at IndustriALL Global Union**

**REDES SINDICAIS INTERNACIONAIS E INTERSECCIONALIDADE:
cadeias globais de valor na confecção do vestuário e siderurgia na IndustriALL Global
Union**

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Tese apresentada ao Instituto de Filosofia e Ciências Humanas da Universidade Estadual de Campinas como parte dos requisitos exigidos para obtenção do título de Doutora em Ciência Política.

Supervisora/Orientadora: Profa. Dra. Ângela Maria Carneiro Araújo

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A Comissão Julgadora dos trabalhos de Defesa de Tese de Doutorado, composta pelos(as) professores(as) doutores(as) a seguir descritos, em sessão pública realizada em 18 de janeiro de 2018, considerou a candidata Katiuscia Moreno Galhera aprovada.

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A Ata de Defesa, assinada pelos membros da Comissão Examinadora, consta no processo de vida acadêmica do aluno.

*Dedico esta tese para minha filha, Sofia,
e para todas as trabalhadoras
que carregam no corpo a condição de
mulher,
negra, índia, africana, asiática ou latina,
pobre,
jovem,
(i)migrante,
marginalizada.*

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*First they came for the Socialists, and I did not speak out—
Because I was not a Socialist.
Then they came for the Trade Unionists, and I did not speak out—
Because I was not a Trade Unionist.
Then they came for the Jews, and I did not speak out—
Because I was not a Jew.
Then they came for me—
and there was no one left to speak for me.
Martin Niemöller (1892–1984)*

Abstract

International union networks and the role of IndustriALL Global Union at the garment and steel industries are the objects of this dissertation. The starting point/ premise is that workers are more empowered by structural power in the steel industry - mostly male, white, and national - compared to associational power in the garment industry - mostly female, Black or Brown, and foreign. The argument is that since workers are fragmented because of color, gender, and nation in global supply chains, identity politics in labor unions are beneficial to unionism worldwide. Two hypotheses are tested at the international level: First, due to structural power steelworkers design bottom-up international union networkers, and due to associational power garment workers design top-down international union networkers. Second, national union organizations more attentive to identity politics are more likely to internationalize. The results show that indeed: (i) there is a close correlation between social markers of difference (gender, color, and nation), labor markets in global supply chains and the international union networks; and (ii) identity politics is a factor that takes influences the internationalization of the labor movement.

Keywords: Unionist movement; Identity politics; Supply chain management; International labor activities; Social movements.

Resumo

Redes sindicais internacionais e o papel da IndustriALL Global Union nas indústrias de confecção do vestuário e siderúrgica são os objetos desta dissertação. A premissa ou ponto de partida é que trabalhadores são mais empoderados por poder estrutural na indústria siderúrgica - majoritariamente masculina, branca e nacional - comparada ao poder associacional na indústria têxtil - majoritariamente feminina, negra ou parda e estrangeira. Meu argumento é que dado que trabalhador@s são fragmentados devido à raça, gênero e nacionalidade em cadeias globais de confecção, a política de identidade é benéfica ao sindicalismo internacionalmente. Duas hipóteses são testadas no nível internacional: Primeiro, devido ao poder estrutural, trabalhador@s da siderurgia estabelecem arranjos do tipo “bottom-up” (de baixo pra cima) em redes sindicais internacionais e, devido ao poder associacional, trabalhador@s da confecção do vestuário estabelecem arranjos do tipo “top-down” (de cima para baixo) em redes sindicais internacionais. Os resultados demonstram que: (i) há uma correlação próxima dentre marcadores sociais de diferença (gênero, raça e nação) e o sucesso relativo de uma rede sindical internacional (que é “bottom-up”); e (ii) a política de identidade é um fator que influencia a internacionalização do movimento sindical.

Palavras-chave: Sindicalismo; Identidade coletiva; Cadeias produtivas; Organizações internacionais de trabalhadores; Movimentos sociais.

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INTRODUCTION

The collapse of an entire building at Rana Plaza resulted in worldwide attention focusing on plight of factory workers on April 24th, 2013. Until that moment, Savar - where Rana Plaza was located - was an unknown neighborhood close to the capital of Bangladesh. Dead bodies were televised in the news in what came to be known as the deadliest accident in the history of the textile industry. Around 1,129 workers in the garment industry were killed and more than 2,500 injured (Khan and Wichterich 2015: 1), most of them young rural women who used to make as little as 45 dollars a month. The following months saw an outpouring of demonstrations, rallies, virtual petitions, letters, and pressure led by national and international citizens' groups, social movements, and volunteers on brand-name clothing corporations as Wal-Mart, J.C. Penney and C&A to act.

After tough negotiations, The Bangladesh Accord on Fire and Building Safety was signed among international labor organizations – IndustriALL and UNI Global Union –, the corporations involved, and the Bengali government. This tripartite, binding, and top-down accord was received with enthusiasm by international labor unionists, labor lawyers, academics, and the press. As the first time this model of accord was signed, it was considered a particular victory to workers' rights, given both the traditional power of multinational corporations and the economic power in the Bengali Congress.

Premature conclusions. On February 2nd, 2016, another fire in the same region of Dhaka broke out – the Matrix Sweaters' fire. Luckily, workers hadn't started their shifts. Another fire had broken out and been extinguished at the same building five days earlier. Again, brand-name corporations were involved. What these additional fires made apparent for many workers' rights proponents was that a contingent and localized accord doesn't solve the problems of a whole industry.

Some time later, on November 3rd, 2016, workers' representatives in another sector met to discuss the maintenance of rights in an industry with very little historical

oversight leading to Health and Safety accidents that resulted in death. A meeting was held at a United Steelworkers' building - a grandiose, modern high-rise - made of steel and aluminum in industrialized Pittsburgh (Pennsylvania), known in films such as *Flash dance*(1983) glamorized by a metallurgical worker who follows her dreams of succeeding in dancing. Around 33 leaders of independent trade unions, together with lobbyists, met to present the steel industry situation by country and by company. Despite the quota by gender, only the Indian and Canadian commissions showed up with women leaders. Advanced, complex, and updated data was presented; projectors, pens, scratch pads, and computers were available; food was served (and waitresses working to serve). At night, after a stylish dinner at McCormick Schmick's, participants went to their rooms at the comfortable Wyndham Grand Pittsburgh Downtown hotel. The workers at Rana Plaza would have never imagined the amenities of unions in the U.S. discussing the plight of workers in the Global South.

China's overcapacity¹, economic downturn, and (social) dumping² were the main concerns for the workers' representatives in that meeting. The Pittsburgh

¹ China's overcapacity is the country's production beyond the capacity of world consumption. In 2013, for instance, the excess capacity for world steel production was 558 million metric tonnes against 1,606 crude steel production. Excess Capacity = crude steelmaking capacity – crude steel production (Source: Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, World crude steelmaking 2000-2017, available at <<http://www.oecd.org/sti/ind/steelcapacity.htm>>, accessed in May 12th, 2016). By region, in 2013, China led the world steelmaking capacity (230 million metric tonnes), followed by the rest of Asia (92), the European Union (80), Commonwealth of Independent States (79), Other Europe (19), Latin America (18), and North America (9) (Source: Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, Excess Capacity in the Global Steel Industry and the Implications of New Investment Projects, available at <http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/science-and-technology/excess-capacity-in-the-global-steel-industry-and-the-implications-of-new-investment-projects_5js65x46nxhj-en>, accessed in May 12th, 2016; fieldwork).

² The steel industry benefits of heavy industries promoted for instance during World Wars. The economic boom post-World War II led to a recession in the steel global market during the 1970's. The usual answer to a recession is to low costs (for example, salaries). Since China is a major global player in this industry and offers one of the most competitive prices in the market – pretty much based on Chinese's low salaries – it's accused in a row of deepening the economic downturn and social dumping (being competitive based on extreme exploitation of labor). In fact, aluminum prices have decreased substantially when the Chinese production increased about \$2,000 for 2,500 thousands of tonnes and 2,900 of monthly Chinese production in November 2014 to about \$1,500 for 2,000 thousands of tonnes and 2,200 monthly Chinese productions in September 2015 (Source: World Aluminium Association and American Metal Market/ fieldwork).

Declaration 2015³ was released after the meeting urging governments to reinforce anti-dumping rules⁴ at the World Trade Organization (WTO) and The Organization of Economic Cooperation Development (OECD), opposition was declared to the recognition of economy status to China. Union leaders also asked for the fixation of market distortions. They also discussed who would represent the group at the 79th Session of the Steel Committee at OECD. Workers in the steel industry have the right to four chairs and one spokesperson, although no right to decide OECD's pathways. The intention of these bottom-up measures is to influence institutions and decision-making procedures through the input of workers being directly affected

A weak and collapsed building in an unknown neighborhood on the other side of the world might seem unrelated to a strong and stable building in an industrialized city. At first glance these are random buildings, are diametrically opposite, having nothing to do with one another. A closer look, however, reveals two specific and contrasting set of issues characteristic of labor market's structural design in an increasingly globalized economy and to the possible agency of social movements in general and the labor movements in particular.

Although increased labor precarity is the common element amongst workers in both industries, one labor market (garment) is more precarious than the other (steel). As a consequence, labor movements (nationally and internationally) are designed according to these industries. In our case studies linked to international unionism, due to structural and associational power of workers, the international network of labor unions and related organizations in the garment sector framed a paternalistic, top-down institutional arrangement (although sometimes highly beneficial and innovative). The international network of workers, labor unions and related organizations in the steel sector, in contrast, frames a bottom-up institutional arrangement that stimulates the

³ See: United Steelworkers (et al). *IndustriALL Pittsburgh Declaration 2015*. Available at: <http://www.usw.org/news/pdfs/IndustriALLPittsburghDeclaraion2015.pdf>. Accessed in August 24th, 2016.

⁴ Measures to diminish the impacts of selling products in an extraordinary low price.

engagement of the rank and file, as well as allows workers planning, pro-active participation, and more effective measures.

But why are some sectors more precarious than others and why are international networks designed differently than others - more or less empowering - and which could be union answers to the structure of power in the contemporary globalized economy?

I argue that design of sectors and success of international networks are due to variables of gender, race, class, age, and nationality. These are not independent, but intersecting variables or “marker[s] of social difference” (Brah 1996: 95), although presented as independent variables for the methodological purposes of this study⁵. Multiple other intersectional variables exist in other studies and detecting variables depend on contingent subjects and analysis. Additionally, these variables are reflected in power dynamics at all levels (individual/ subjectivity, local, communal, societal, national, regional, and global), structural arrangements, institutions, the Global North and South⁶, and possible agencies.

⁵ It's known in the intersectional studies that intersectional variables are connected with one another. I present them as independent variables because it's worth: white man earn more than white women; national women earn more than foreign women; colored national men earn more than colored foreign men and so on. Of course these variables are contingent. Large-n data show, however, that as a general rule the variables analyzed design a social pyramid of labor based on the variables presented (see, for instance, national data from IBGE presented in this research).

⁶ Objectively, the term “Global South” was born at the Bandung Conference (1955) to designate countries from Africa, Asia and Middle East that debated imperialism, non-alignment, and decolonization. Nowadays, the term is reframed and charged with political aspirations. This research is aligned with definitions from Siba N. Grovogui, one of the main exponents of post-colonial studies in International Relations: in pure geographic terms, the “Global South” is frequently a reference to the “Third World” and the “Global North” to the “First World”. However, the world division in “First” (western and developed countries), “Second” (ex-USSR countries), and “Third World” (the rest) technically doesn't exist since the end of the Cold War. So ideologically in a term under dispute: “a metaphor, not an etymology”, “an aspiration and an agenda”, “a new program for new practices” (Grovogui 2010). In this sense, “the GS has sought to develop a new ethos of power and subjectivity through foreign policy, international solidarity, and responsibility to self and others” (ibid.). In fact, the term appears frequently among people engaged in global activism, as well as websites, newspapers, and other sources of political opinion, expressing this conjugation between geography and ideology that give rise a new cartography of the world system. At the same time, it's a term accepted in academic circles. Given this articulation between theory and practice, I use the term in this research.

It's interesting to note that the Global South debate is some of the ILO proposals, based on the “principles of equality, mutual benefit, national ownership, non-conditionality and non-interference”, in which the

Thus, an intersectional approach of and for workers in the globalized economy is probably the most efficient way of understanding the allocation, reproduction, and exploitation of labor, as well as the possible agency for workers. These variables, together, intersect to form a specific social subject to serve the purposes of contemporary capitalism and design social pyramids within and across national societies. Finally, social perceptions based on class, gender, race, youth, and nationality are reproduced not only on multinational levels, but also in families, churches, governmental decisions – reflected in state apparatuses –, and labor unions. In other words, intersectionality is institutionalized. These institutionalized perceptions produce differences that perpetuate inequalities.

Paradoxically, evidence shows that agency to overcome differences and diminish inequalities pays out in their radicalization. Better said, the radicalization of their representativeness within the labor movement. In other words, labor more as a movement based on representativeness is needed to transform differences in diversity and diminish inequality through a less bureaucratic, hierarchical, and institutionalized organization that reinforces them. The answer, thus, might be to welcome stronger identity politics⁷ into the labor movement⁸.

South “opened up new opportunities for countries in the South to participate with a stronger voice in the global development debate, actively shaping the course of change rather than being passive receivers”.

⁷ The so-called identity politics was first approached by Kimberle Crenshaw (1991). At that time, her article diagnosed that “the violence that many women experience is often shaped by other dimensions of their identities, such as race and class” (1993: 1242). Although analyzing two main variables at that time – gender and race, given that her subject in the article were Afro-American descendants – she opened up the debate about “multilayered and routinized forms of domination” (1993: 1245). Another diagnosis was that the lack of an intersectional consciousness is harmful also in agency attempts, as in anti-domestic violence lobbies, since advocates would be more concerned in stereotyping communities “than with removing the stereotype”, resulting in “Tokenistic, objectifying, voyeuristic inclusion” (1993: 1259 and 1261), which is, including a social body just to look like democratic.

⁸ It's worth mentioning that this research acknowledges the relevance of queer theory. When advocating for identity politics, I wish to call attention for minorities in the labor movements, in a certain denounce of gender imbalances, racism, and the few policies for young and alien workers. Although these *are* workers, unions usually direct energy and resources to well established workers that pay union dues: usually the white, middle age, and national working man.

Representation via identity politics doesn't mean denying the actual institutionalized practices, such as "repertoires of contention"⁹ (Tilly 1986) of labor organizations, nor preventing labor organizations to keep working on institutionalized forms of power leverage. Strikes, sit-ins, name and shame practices, negotiating roundtables and other usual practices of labor unions keep working as institutionalized practices for labor union; they are not detrimental to identity politics and vice versa.

Additionally, if identity politics really includes such issues as the Global South in their decision making processes, they are more likely to turn into a democratic body that diminish power imbalances derived from the international division of labor and power imbalances from the "Global Southern" labor markets (i.e. marginalized labor markets performed mainly by young dark, immigrant women, from rural areas). In sum, an intersectional and international approach of the labor market matters either for diagnosing and offering agencies matters.

Identity politics also increases the participation of the so-called "minorities" in sectors with structural power, in which workers access power "simply as a result of their location in the economic system" (Wright 2000: 962), as steel workers. At the same time, it promotes the engagement of workers in less privileged sectors, such as the garment industry, improving the associational power, or the "various forms of power that result from the formation of collective organization of workers (trade unions and political parties)" (Wright 2000: 962). At the very end, although there's a pyramid in the labor market that designs industries by these variables, at the agency part, it democratizes labor markets and improves democracies.

Identity politics is also a way of increasing consensus in international solidarity. It's known that in international campaigns and organizations there are power imbalances between the southern and northern unionists. Weak actors in the South need alliances with strong actors in the North to achieve their goals, but northern actors frequently use their power to design institutions. This paradox of labor transnationalism

⁹ Repertoires of contention are a "whole set of means [a group] has for making claims of different types on different individuals" (1986: 2) that might include letters, strikes, negotiations, faxing, riots, and etc.

(Anner 2007) could be diminished if in the process of goal formation – in which negotiation of interests through exchange, persuasion, and debate are set (Anner 2007) – are based on identity politics. Although the ways in which social actors construct collective action remains an open question, “collective phenomena are those social events that comprise a number of individuals or groups exhibiting, at the same time and in the same place, behaviors with relatively similar morphological characteristics” (Melucci 1996: 16). The question, though, is which kind of morphological characteristics groups are willing to share and which orientations for collective action they take: Are workers with diverse characteristics willing to share equally in the union movement? Are they aware that tolerance and diversity are relevant issues in building up worker power? Scientific studies on psychology show that an intersectional political consciousness leverages solidarity: previous studies arguing that high group diversity lower solidarity are challenged by data showing that an intersectional political consciousness moderates the negative association between diversity and solidarity (Greenwood 2008; Wilson, Abram and Anderson 2010; Harnois 2015), resulting in intersectional mobilization (Terriquez 2015). Studies also show that women and people of color are more pro-union (Bronfenbrenner and Juravich 1998 qtd. Dunn 2004). In fact, “without heterogeneity notions of solidarity would lack meaning” (Panitch 2001 qtd. Dunn 2004: 51).

Studying international unionism is worthy of analysis for a multitude of reasons. In a globalized economy with thousands of transnational corporations (TNCs) ruling governments, societies, and public opinions impacting lives worldwide, it would be a polianic perspective not investing (heavily) in international unionism as a critical perspective. Furthermore, it is also acting as Polyana believing that the working class will benefit from globalization as it is currently settled (Burawoy 2010). Plus, this research calls attention to the “aristocracy of the proletariat” blind to issues of more vulnerable working people, such as Trump voters - mostly unionized white North-American workers prejudiced to issues as race, gender, and nationality, worried due to the narratives that blame other workers, instead of blaming attack on labor rights by the

1%. If labor organizations focus only on class as a variable to be solved, we are at risk of promoting a certain profile of the unionized breadwinner: the white worker that is increasingly shrinking (Standing 2011). Instead of investing in global solidarity, neo fascist rhetoric masquerades as rights of the “American” (United States born) worker, as recently championed by Trump’s campaign for presidency.

I came to this research as part of a working queer and student of International Relations at ABC Paulista, at the São Paulo Metropolitan Region in Brazil (an important organization known for fighting dictatorships and advocating for labor organizations). Due to this geographic location, family background and identity, I have been first in contact with advocacy groups in leftist parties, and then advocating for women's, immigrants', and LGBTQIA's rights. Under this condition, I've seen chauvinism and racism within the labor movement leftist spaces, class prejudice in LGBTQIA communities, and xenophobic attitudes everywhere, not to mention some of my own experiences. That's how I came to the intersectional approach to this research, after a suggestion from a union-activist friend in an International Relations course where I studied labor movements since my Master's Program and an inspiring influence of a genius friend at the time spent in Pennsylvania in behalf of the “puzzle”: identity politics.

The research is based on primary, secondary, and tertiary sources collected during the period analyzed (2013-2017). The main primary sources include:

Formal and, to a lesser extent, informal interviews: with all the Brazilian confederations analyzed¹⁰, leaders from IndustriALL, the heads of both international union networks, shop stewards from Gerdau's factories¹¹, former head of the Association of Brazilian Public Ministry of Labor¹², NGOs, 72 Bolivian women workers at Sao Paulo city¹³, and activists from the United Students Against Sweatshops¹⁴;

- Personal notes from fieldwork;

¹⁰ See annex 1.

¹¹ See annex 2.

¹² See annex 2.

¹³ See annex 3.

¹⁴ See annex 4.

- Conventions and Recommendations from the ILO;
- Treatises, reports from organizations at the local, national, regional, and international levels: Brazilian Confederations and Central Labor Unions, GUFs, NGOs, and the ILO;
- The Brazilian national Census and data from the World Bank;
- Unions' and media's newspapers and newsletters; speeches, conference proceedings, and other sources of official talks of union officials and NGO leaders; original e-mails, flyers, and letters.

Secondary sources include journal articles, books, dissertations, theses, monographs, biographies, indexes, and abstracts. Tertiary sources include dictionaries, entries, databases, and handbooks.

The fieldwork lays out mainly in qualitative research, although some quantitative statistics were included. This research is, thus, a mixed methods research. Participatory observation, data collection, field notes, survey research, and word clouds are the five main methods of field research employed. Data in national Census is the main source of quantitative method.

Participatory observation included involvement with grassroots, intermediate, and top-down groups, collectives, and organizations. Some formal events attended were: annual official meeting in the Gerdau World Committee (Buenos Aires, May 2014), observation at the IndustriALL's workshop *Políticas Industriales y Energéticas Sustentables* (Sao Paulo, January 2014), attendance and talk at the Latin-American Seminar "Immigrant Women" promoted by the NGO *Centro de Apoyo al Migrante* (Sao Paulo, August 2014), support and participation in the 8th Immigrants March led by CAMI, especially the women's coalition *Frente de Mulheres Imigrantes* (November and December 2015), United Students Against Sweatshops Local 123 week meeting (State College, 2015-16 academic year), IndustriALL Global Union Base Metals Steering Committee Meeting (Pittsburgh, November 2015), USAS' H M action (Pittsburgh, September 2015), USAS' Regional Training/ Bootcamp (New York, September 2015),

USAS 19th Annual Conference (Pittsburgh, February 2016); World Social Forum on Immigration (Sao Paulo, July 2016).

Data collection included a large field of sources: from bibliography reviews to reports, from technical data to articles of opinion, etc.

Surveys were applied at three specific moments: during Solidarity Center at AFL-CIO's funded research with Bolivian women at the garment industry in São Paulo (annex 4), union leaders at the garment industry in the two main national Confederations of these industries (annex 1), public institutes and NGOs (annex 3); with union leaders of international union organizations (annex 2); and with activists (annex 5). All protocols required for human interaction in the fieldwork were attended, and signed permissions of use and disclosure of information collected were filled.

Word clouds to analyze identity politics of national confederations in order to prove one of the hypothesis is the last but not least important research method. To do so, I utilize "Atlas.ti - qualitative data analysis" software. This assessment aims to demonstrate that most internationalized union organizations are also those that take identity politics seriously, as a relevant and important political and organizing tool.

Data collection in the national Census as the main quantitative method has the purpose of elucidating profiles of workers in both industries.

Since this research presupposes issues of gender as institutional and structural racism – issues that are reflected from personal interrelationships to international organizations –, it's worth mentioning different levels of understanding social reality: macro, "which looks at the big picture"; meso, "which looks at the intermediate picture"; and micro, "which focuses on the smallest interactions" (Scipes 2016: 29). Even if this research focuses mainly to the macro level – international institutions – and meso level – national institutions, it's worth keeping in mind that all levels of interactions matter and reproduce the system analysis and that all my research efforts are designed to provide better living and working conditions for the worker at the very bottom: "each person is located within a network of power relations that extend from the individual to the family, to the neighborhood and community, to the town or city,

to the state or province, to the nation, and to the world” (Scipes 2016: 29). If national and international organizations are incapable of substantial changes at all levels, their *modus operandi* must be rethought.

This research falls within the intersection of Libertarian Marxist¹⁵ and Foucauldian theory and methods, considering the intersectional variables pointed out. It's grounded in Marxist dialectics to analyze international unionism and labor strategies to fight neoliberalism and the capitalism under globalization. At the same time, since the research analyzes labor unions' politics, as well as issues such institutionalized genderism and structural racism, it cannot ignore the so-called “bodies of knowledge”¹⁶ (Foucault 1998) that reproduces power imbalances *within* institutions, including those ones that try to reform or overcome capitalism¹⁷. Power imbalances, in this study, are the outcomes of social relations in the capitalist society, specifically inequalities in the labor market: intersectional variables, besides class.

Why Foucault if an intersectional analysis also includes class? Because class is the main causal variable that provides agency for social subjects - according to themselves - for the institutions analyzed. In a row, it also reproduces other inequalities, since it's based on blind narratives for other differences and causal variables. However, relations of power based on perceptions over gender, race, youth, and nationalities are present in all social relations and institutions, including labor organizations and labor markets. Therefore, power, in this research, is pretty much based on other *loci* than the owners of capital, as stated by Foucault (1998). That's the reason this research couldn't be solely Marxist, since capital isn't *the loci of power* and dialectics is not necessarily

¹⁵ Since it questions all structures of power all the time.

¹⁶ The Foucauldian concept presupposes that power is everywhere, dispersed and pervasive.

¹⁷ As argued by Rodrigues and Cardoso during the making of the Brazilian Constitution: “The increase of a feminine share in the labor market was not followed by an equivalent increase of women proportion in the political, associational and union spheres. This last activity, specially, is predominantly masculine. The Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics show that only 8,6% of employed women were affiliated to unions and professional associations in 1988, compared to about 16% of men. Additionally, among effective directors of class associations, in 1988, about 93% were men and only 7% women. In sum, not only women had associational life less intense than men in 1988, as were also basically absent in union directions” (Rodrigues and Cardoso 2009: 65-66) in the verybeginning of the Brazilian newest Constitution.

the result of social relations, but Libertarian Marxism, since it questions authority all the time. Libertarian Marxism is conjugated with an intersectional perspective because this research questions power relations (and authorities) all the time: capital authority, male authority, white authority, state authority, and so on. In other words, in analyzing labor union's mainstream narratives based solely or mostly on class, I aim to show the limits of traditional labor unions' agenda in a globalized economy that exploits bearers of gender, class, youth, nationality, etc. In this sense, "class [came] to be the crucial dimension overshadowing all other identities such as region, ethnic and national origin, religion, and gender. As a result of this approach, little attention was paid to the organizational and ideological diversity of the labour movement" (Pasture and Verberckmoes 1998: 2)

So what if we take intersectionality seriously as way of determining the conditions of work, workers, and the globalized economy? Even if this is not the research question, it's the conducting wire that guides the research: the puzzle. To answer this question, the research is based on two different types of arguments and methodologies for theory building:

The first argument questions the universal subject of *the* working class - a category frequently proclaimed by unionists and policy-making groups to be universal. Instead, I argue that there's a *myriad of groups inside and pertaining to the working class*. From the working poor to the white collar, from immigrants *sin papeles* to well-paid nationals, from work performed by women to work performed by men, from work performed by workers of color to work performed by white folks, from outsourced to direct employment--in all of these cases the former are more likely to have lower wages and social statuses compared to the latter. The statement that there's not *the* working class, but plural people that make up the working class is not new (see, for instance, Souza-Lobo 1991). Something new and argued in this research is that the configuration of working classes informs the configuration of some industries and provides to some workers relative advantages when dealing with the power of multinational corporations in global supply chains (GSC) through the construction of relatively strong or weak

international networks, compared to others. In this research, workers in the steel industry and the international union network at Gerdau (steel industry) are better paid and more organized than workers at Inditex (garment industry). What I will show and is a potential innovation in this research, is that this assertion also impacts the relative workers' empowerment in multinational companies, since historic formations are reflected in such social perceptions and institutions, as labor unions. Therefore, this is the structuralist argument given my research.

The methodology and sources of this first argument was based on (1) Large-N data (last Brazilian Census) to show the worker's profile for each industry and the differences based on the variables analyzed; (2) analysis of the design for each sector as outcomes of the variables (see framework 1 below); (3) explanation of the relative success for each union network based on such evidence like number of meetings held, shop stewards' involvement, participation of the rank and file, channels of communication between the rank and file and the international networks (as works councils), alignment of the network's report compared to the fieldwork findings, and the design of the network itself (more of a bottom-up or more of a top-down).

Framework 1 – Industrial designs – background and outcomes (steel and garment industries)

<i>Industry</i>	<i>Elements</i>	<i>Background/ explanation</i>	<i>Outcome</i>
steel	relative high technical education of workers	based on what is considered "technical", i.e. the sewing expertise is considered a knowledge "from mom to daughter" socially undervalued	decreases relative turnover that strengthens workers and labor unions
garment	relative low technical education of workers		increases relative turnover that weakens workers and labor unions
steel	relative high investment in production plants/ verticalization	based on the social perception of what is a "real industry" (usually heavy and for infrastructure, as steel), in opposition of light industries, as garment	relative unease of a company to move from a regulated environment to greenfields --> strength of actual labor unions
garment	relative low investment in production plants/ horizontalization		relative ease of a company to move from a regulated environment to greenfields --> weakening of labor unions
steel	relative centralization of production chains	based on the option of decision-makers to invest, economic calculation of costs, and outsourcing strategies	relative ease of labor unions and workers to organize
garment	relative fragmentation of production chains		relative unease of labor unions and workers to organize
steel	supply chain (producer-driven)	relative ease of a company to determine unilaterally wages and working conditions, also based on social perceptions of the breadwinner	higher relative power capabilities from workers and labor organizations
garment	supply chain (buyer-driven)		smaller relative power capabilities from workers and labor organizations
steel	intensive in capital	a "reservation army" is more likely to be created in industries intensive in labor	industries intensive in capital tend to have higher salaries, since it's a small portion of the final product
garment	intensive in labor		industries intensive in labor (garment) tend to push down wages since it's a big part of the production cost

Source: own design.

The second argument is that these variables found in the labor market, of which multinational companies take advantage of, are a big potential for labor agency,

of course, the structural limits pointed out above. The premise tested in the research is that given the actual gendered, racialized, aged, and nationalized labor markets, labor organizations that employ identity politics at the national level are more likely to succeed in international unionism. Two central unions are analyzed: Union Force (*Força Sindical*, or FS) and Sole Union of Workers (*Central Única dos Trabalhadores*, or CUT). FS is known to have more of a business unionism approach¹⁸ and some of its founding members cooperated with the Brazilian military *coup*¹⁹. CUT is known to have participated in progressive labor reforms in Brazil and fought the dictatorship after *coup*. Moreover, considering that these labor organizations follow a similar profile²⁰, it is expected that the first is less likely to focus on tangible changes to the labor market based on identity politics, but on punctual negotiations with employers that often lack teeth. It's expected, on the other hand, that CUT is more proactive concerning issues such as democratic decision-making processes and identity politics. It's expected, therefore, that FS is less engaged in international institutions while CUT, on the other hand, is more engaged in international institutionalism, since comparatively the first tends to be less engaged in the radical politicization of the labor movement compared to the latter.

Class, gender, race, age, and immigration are the independent variables and main concepts handled in my work. Success is the outcome or dependent variable. Causal relations are independent variables theorized in relation to the dependent variable. Variables of control are: the role of the leadership and specific international union cooperation. Variables must vary; therefore, when defining concepts as variables,

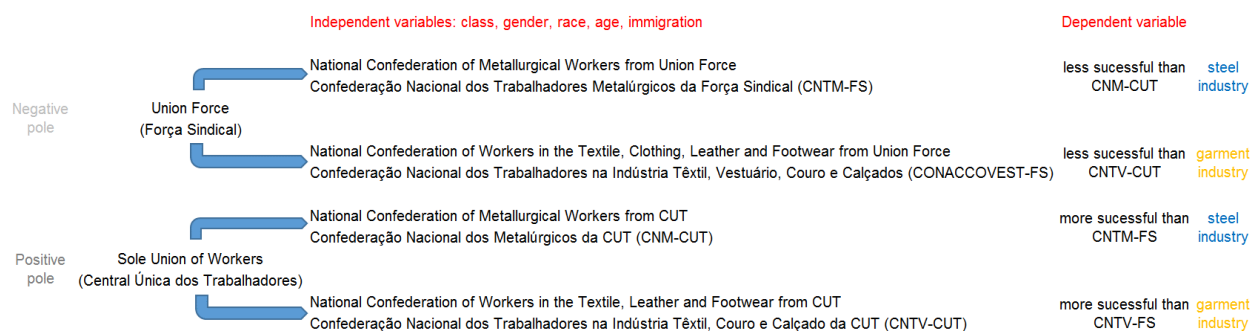
¹⁸ In opposition to the class or revolutionary unionism, it is the perspective that unions must direct their efforts to immediate gains, instead of questioning the capitalist system: unions should run like a business.

¹⁹ The National Confederation of Metallurgical Workers (*Confederação Nacional dos Trabalhadores Metalúrgicos*, or CNTM), linked to *Força Sindical*, was founded in January 19th, 1985, having as president Joaquim dos Santos Andrade, popularly known as "Joaquinzão", at that time president of the São Paulo's metallurgical union (CNTM 2008). "Joaquinzão" is known, in the Brazilian labor history, as *pelegrino*. His history carries a bad reputation of being an informer and intervenor in 1964, the coup's year. The dictatorship used to destitute directions and nominate new ones. He was one of the persons responsible for doing so (Napolitano 2014).

²⁰ Recently, for instance, the ex-president "Paulinho da Força" supported the new *coup d'état* over president Dilma Rousseff. As a consequence, neoliberal reforms were stated, affecting workers directly.

one should define the positive pole, the negative pole, and the scale between them. FS is the negative pole. CUT is the positive pole. It is, thus, a model that allows falsifiability. The schema of the research is designed below:

Schema 1 – Qualitative research



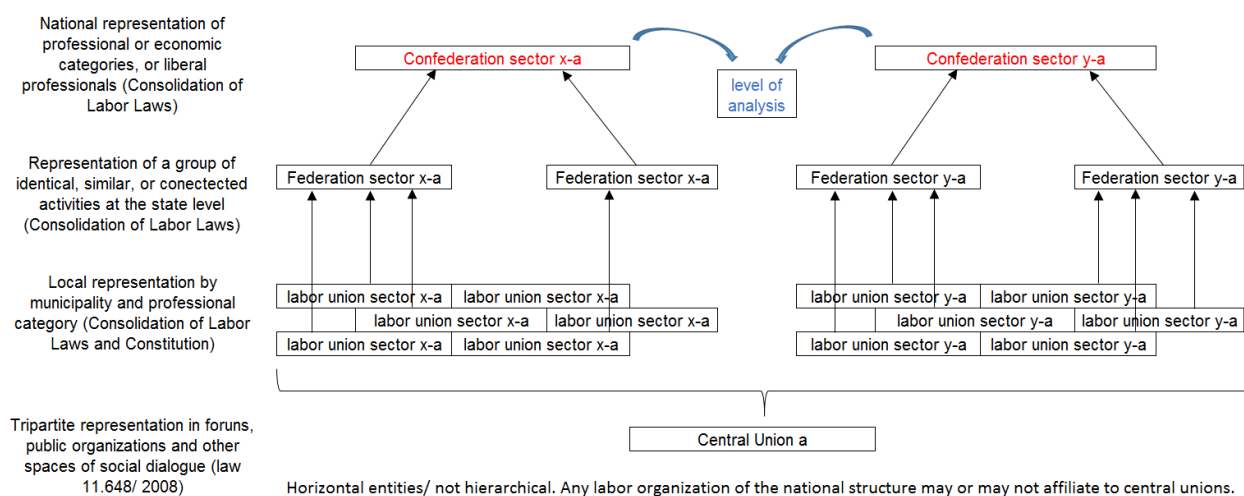
Source: own design

The analysis focuses on two industries (garment and steel) and two poles (business and social movement unionism²¹). In order to analyze the Brazilian labor movement, research is based on the level of the Confederation²². For each industry and central union there is a specific Confederation, as explained in the schema below.

²¹ Business unionism is defined, in this dissertation, as bread and butter unionism. Social movement unionism is defined as the union as movement linked to other agendas; it's broader in scope than solely labor relations.

²² From the Consolidations of Labor's Law (Consolidação das Leis do Trabalho) article 533, defining the constitution of union associations of superior degree, a confederations has to have three federations to be registered. Federations, by their turn, have to have five affiliated unions to be recognized.

Organogram 1 – Legal pyramid of labor organizations in Brazil, 2016



Sources: own design, Consolidation of Labor Laws, Brazilian Constitution, Law 11.648/2008

The choice of these specific case studies is not random: they were chosen purposively, given that this is a case study and it's more beneficial "to choose the most appropriate cases for a given research strategy" (Seawright and Gerring 2008: 295). I chose two specific union trends (FS and CUT union traditions) that are considered opposing poles of the union spectrum (business and social movement unionism) in order to show *relative* outcomes in a given social context in which other issues are equal. In other words, I'm comparing oranges with oranges (the steel industry) and apples with apples (the garment industry) in the same country, with the same workers' profiles, legislation, and history, etc. The only variant is the union orientation/ model. Additionally, two specific industries that represent two "ideal types" (Weber 2009) in the variables analyzed (gender, class, race, age, and nationality) were chosen purposively to enable the insulation of social markers of difference. In other words, this is a typical/ representative case.

The cases selected are *not* biased because: (1) at the international level, international networks of the companies selected are not a complete success nor a

complete failure (the dependent variable is not biased); (2) at the national level, confederations are the most (and only) viable level of analysis in the legal national jurisdiction and the subjects were not chosen by the dependent variable too. Thus, biased outcomes/ dependent variables/ estimates/ causal effects are avoided, as well as explanatory/ independent variables.

The qualitative method of word clouds through “atlas.ti” software employs a correlated sample between the positive and negative pole for the two different industries. It’s based on the frequency of specific keywords in the Confederations’ online journals, such as “women and empowerment”, “workers of color and overcoming power imbalances”, “promotion and young employment”, “immigrant workers and citizenship”. The samples are the keywords in union’s newsletters since they engaged in international unionism; they are representative and useful as variations in time on the dimension of the theoretical interest presented. This is, thus, a semantic analysis. At the end, I will question the institutional mechanisms of both labor markets and agency from labor unions without falling into a tautological trap that argues power imbalances naturalize differences and vice versa.

This dissertation has five chapters, besides this introduction, final considerations, and annexes. In the first chapter, a theoretical contribution is developed in regards to identity politics. It’s worth bearing in mind that the Libertarian Marxist analysis of capital and working classes as well as the Foucauldian concept of “bodies of knowledge” lay the groundwork for the argument. Next, I bring in social markers of difference in order to explain why these variables are worth considering in the labor market. Then, I present evidence of labor agencies in history that took into account social markers of difference. These instances are explained and a literature review on international union’s networks and international unionism is conducted.

In chapter two a brief historical review of labor internationalism is presented in order to understand the paradigm of labor internationalism, and how labor internationalism relates to the organizations that are the subject of this study in particular. By this review, I aim to demonstrate why the hegemonic paradigm of labor

internationalism transformed from a perspective of confrontation with those that accumulate capital in the Internationals, or the direct action approach by anarchists and other anti-capitalists, to the current “social dialogue²³” paradigm manufactured and moderated by global governance structures.

An intersectional analysis informs much of this research. I divide this dissertation’s arguments into structure and agency, based on an intersectional approach. By structure I mean that there are elements of each industry analyzed - steel and garment - that design labor markets and the actual international unionism. Although, the social markers of difference - gender, race, youth and nationality (besides class) - are not the only important variables in analyzing global supply chains of specific industries, I argue that if combined with other elements, taking a close look to workers’ profiles is helpful for understanding why some industries are more precarious than others. More importantly, I argue that such elements position workers in situations that affect how current international labor networks are designed. This framework is the structural argument in Chapter Three.

In Chapter Four, the results of actual international union networks are demonstrated. I argue that, for the case studies under analysis, outcomes are connected to two designs for international labor unionism in global supply chains: bottom-up and top-down institutionalized arenas of struggle. Then, a brief debate about problems with private agreements is engaged.

As labor markets are gendered, racialized, nationalized, and aged, I aim to demonstrate that labor organizations taking into account identity politics are more likely to engage in broader political arenas and more likely to internationalize. In other words, politicization - in this case, through identity politics - leads to internationalism. This is the agency argument in the Chapter Five.

²³ Social dialogue is defined in this research in a critical definition, which is: a certain europeization of labor relations worldwide. The concept presupposes some distance from direct confrontation between the capital and labor. Rather, it requires mutual contribution between them. This concept is important for this research since it frequently informs how union institutions organize.

CHAPTER 1 - THE OCCUPATIONAL BINDS OF YOUNG WOMEN OF COLOR WORKING IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH: WHEN COTTON IS HARDER THAN STEEL

1.1 The identity politics

As Brah (2006 [1996]) mentions, given the differences in society derived from social perception based on social markers of difference, the challenge is “to know whether difference results in inequality, exploitation and oppression or in egalitarianism, diversity and democratic designs of political agency” (127, my translation)²⁴. Peter Evans (2010) provides us international union’s terminology: “global neoliberal capitalism gives the labor movement a new opportunity to realize old dreams of transcending parochial identities and national boundaries” (352-3). From Evans’ perspective, a union relevant and linked to international unionism, is linked to identity. Quoting Della Porta et al. (2006), he demonstrates that “‘strong, totalizing exclusive identities’ of traditional single constituency movements are being replaced by ‘multiple and layered’ identities, which combine gender, race, generation, class, and religion and create a distinctively ‘multifaceted tolerant identity’ among activists” (Della Porta et al. 2006 qtd. Evans 2010: 291).

Since personal identity is not a fixed reflection of a person’s subjectivity, it’s worth mentioning that identity politics of a group or organization is based upon a political process that aims to center a person’s identity/subjectivity in order to push him/her/them to engage in the organization, considering the fact that work might not be the key incentive (Offe 1985) motivating people to engage in formal political arenas. We follow Melucci (1980) in the thinking that “The accumulation mechanisms are not fueled solely through the exploitation of the workforce, but through the manipulation of information,

²⁴ This research approaches, thus, some of the theory of social movements. It includes “the cultural meanings, psychological identities, and a theorization of institutional factors [...]”. This important line of the recent Sociology, originated in Europe but that today is spread in the US, studies social movements from a perspective that takes into account the contingency and subjectivity of actors and reveals a strong sensibility to historical and institutional aspects” (Alexander 1998: 8, my translation).

processes and institutions in the formation of symbols, alongside the interference of personal relations” (217-218 qtd. Alexander 1998: 8, my translation). This means, in practice, that a union organization composed of, for example, mostly rank and file Black female workers must have Black female workers in leadership positions, something that actually *does not* happen in most of the organizations analyzed. Additionally, as to not perpetuate *biases* of gender, race and etc. in the labor market through conformism (“I am a black woman, domestic work and this is my place in the world”), organizations must question, all the time, the *status quo* in order to move differences in diversity, not inequality. As Combahee River²⁵ (1977) points out, “This focusing upon our own oppression is embodied in the concept of identity politics. We believe that the most profound and potentially most radical politics come directly out of our own identity, as opposed to working to end somebody else's oppression” (4).

For Touraine (1978), a revolutionary social movement would be a fight for the social control of cultural orientations of a society. I tend to disagree from such cultural determinism. As said, identity politics is more of a strategic plus in labor organizations than their main politics.

Of course there are limits for identity politics. Angela Davis (2011) points out the limits of strategizing mainly through multiculturalism and diversity, reinforcing the role of intersectionality: communities are always political projects that cannot depend on identity; other variables as well as class, gender, and sexual fissures are hidden behind the construction of unity; the category “woman” is a false unanimity, largely due to the studies of women of color; the unity discourse of people like Condoleezza Rice and

²⁵ According to the group's own definition: “We are a collective of Black feminists who have been meeting together since 1974. [1] During that time we have been involved in the process of defining and clarifying our politics, while at the same time doing political work within our own group and in coalition with other progressive organizations and movements. The most general statement of our politics at the present time would be that we are actively committed to struggling against racial, sexual, heterosexual, and class oppression, and see as our particular task the development of integrated analysis and practice based upon the fact that the major systems of oppression are interlocking. The synthesis of these oppressions creates the conditions of our lives. As Black women we see Black feminism as the logical political movement to combat the manifold and simultaneous oppressions that all women of color face” (1977). This was one of the first collectives that considered intersectionality as a relevant approach to social struggles.

Clarences Thomas, prominent political powerhouses that participate the oppression of their “own people”.

It would be inutile to assume a sole monolithic Black community; therefore, it makes sense to organize communities, not only around their Blackness, but also around political objectives, as Angela Davis (2011) states. If we translate this maxim to labor groups, it would make little sense to organize workers solely around class issues, but it would make sense to organize around political purposes, *including* class. It’s important to point out how a personal identity is expressed – through symbols, practices, knowledge of history and so on – and transforms to a collective identity: “By asking a question of how individuals and groups make sense of their action and how we may understand this process, we are obliged to shift from a monolithic and metaphysical idea of collective actors towards the processes through which a collective become a collective” (Melucci 1996: 70).

We must ask the question: What are the layers of oppression within the labor market and how are they formed? Based on the subject for this thesis – mostly garment and steel workers in Sao Paulo and the fieldwork completed in Brazil and the USA, but also international organizations, and intersectional feminist, immigrant rights, and students’ movements – I take into account four main variables: gender, race, youth, immigration, and class. This choice doesn’t mean that they are the only or most important categories, but the ones that probably fit better in this research. They would depend on contingent subjects in time and space. As a matter of fact, recent studies on labor markets include a close look at gender, specifically gender identity, from the point of view of transgender and queer people (see, for instance, Ferguson 2004). Next, I approach and analyze each of these layers of oppression.

1.1.1 Gender

Ni dios, ni patrón, ni marido (Not God, nor boss, nor husband). *La Voz de la Mujer* (The Woman's Voice) was an anarchist newspaper that circulated semi-clandestinely in Buenos Aires, Argentina, between 1896 and 1897, and later in Rosario, in 1899. The collective critiqued all forms of authority: ecclesiastical, employer, state, and familiar. A movie with the same name captures the issue in one quote: "there's oppression over us not only because we are workers, but women". These women realized, 120 years ago, that gender power imbalances are institutionalized, that is the oppression of women is a structural problem, much like class oppression. Since then, such imbalances persist in societies.

I argue that one cannot understand these imbalances if one don't understand gender as an institution that intersects with the division of labor. This means that there are gender differences in all institutions of society, such as churches, labor market, state, as well as within the family itself – as these Argentine anarchists pointed out. Understanding gender as an institution allows us to understand why power imbalances at work persist over time. If women are underrepresented and tokenized at the state level and in labor unions; if women still carry social burdens of roles within the private sphere; if women are supposed to perform "feminine" activities; if women cannot have the right to control their very bodies – such as reproductive rights –, then eliminating power imbalances at work seems nearly impossible.

As Elson (1999) argues the market profits from discrimination. Labor markets become gendered institutions, that is, they are structured by "practices, perceptions, norms and networks which are 'bearers of gender'" (611). In other words, if the gender gap cannot be explained by levels of education and experience, it can be only explained by constantly reifying gendered perceptions. The gendered or sexual division of labor (Kergoat 2009; Souza Lobo 2011 [1991]; Hirata 2002) is the division of labor based on social constructions or ideologies of gender or, as Haraway (1991: 131) puts it, "a

concept developed to contest the naturalization of sexual difference in multiple arenas of struggle”, maybe having in Simone de Beauvoir (1980) subject-in-process quote one of the clearest expressions: “one is not born, but rather becomes, a woman”.

In the gendered division of labor, traditionally men – or people identified as males – perform mainly productive work (for instance, paid work) if compared to women. Two complementary principles for the main concept are the separation principle (there are “men” and “women” work) and the hierarchy principle (the “men” work is more valuable than the “women” work). Therefore, in addition to the prevalence of male productive labor and female reproductive labor, women usually have lower incomes than men in the labor market, that is, when performing productive labor. As social construction, this division of labor is not only ideological, it presupposes a hierarchy among the groups involved in it and has a material basis that *sustains* it (Kergoat 2009: 68). Considering such hierarchies, class and gender are interrelated and self-sustained: “it’s not only at home that one is oppressed nor is it only in the factory that one is exploited” (Hirata and Kergoat 1994: 96, my translation), as the Argentinian anarchists realized so long ago. Although invisible, this labor is completely essential for the reproduction of daily life and, thus, to make the productive labor possible. Elson et al. (1997) make a differentiation between labor market – in which a person’s labor is sold for employment, therefore excluding unpaid labor – and labor force – in which all and any employment status is included, including unpaid work.

But why does gender discrimination persists in the labor market over time? Because it’s institutionalized and “in the absence of institutional changes, it is profitable” (Elson 1999: 611). As I will further show, gender discrimination as institutional discrimination produces power imbalances also in labor unions, families, communities, societies, formal and informal politics, public policies, foreign affairs, at the state level, and so on. Labor market institutions, thus, “are not only bearers of gender, they are also reinforcers of gender inequality” (Elson 1999: 613) and earning a wage does not automatically empower women: sometimes it just transforms already unequal power relationships from the household to the factory. As one of our interviewee states,

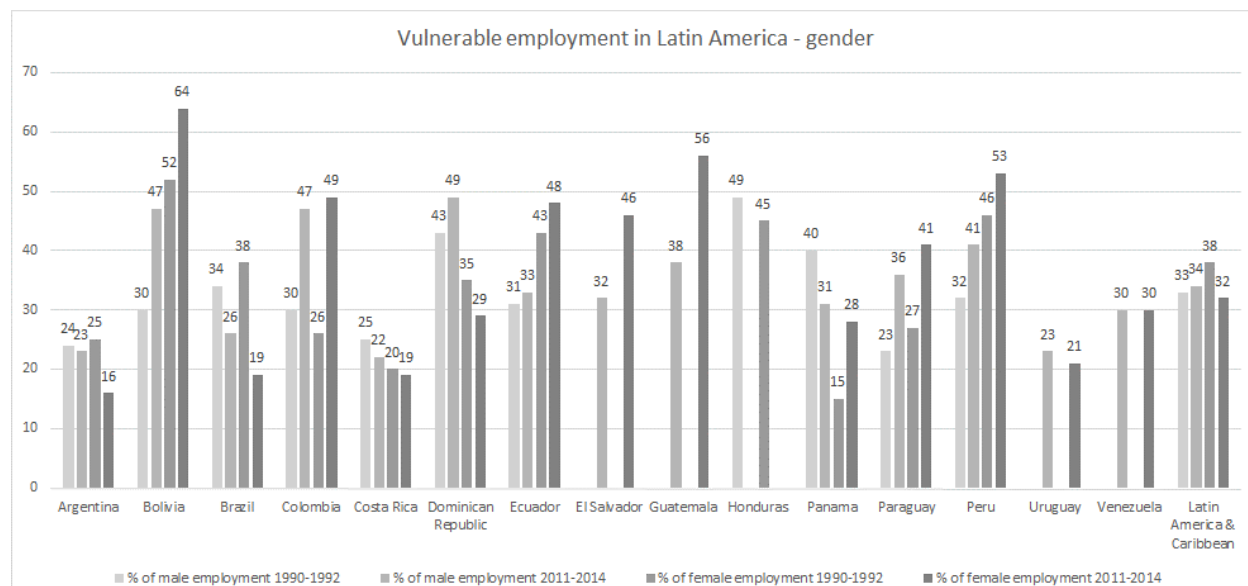
I definitely believe that women should represent women workers, because... see, whatever issues the women workers have, they wouldn't open out with their trade union male leaders, so is [...] beneficial to how women activists actually going to the field and organize the workers, because them... the workers, women workers, can open out with them [...] and connect to them easily. So, definitely, we believe, my organization believes in women activists going to the field and organizing the women... accordingly [...] we have a number of women in the decision making, they are secretaries or they are the vice-presidents of the union and are currently trying to bring women in the decision making, then only you can actually reach to the other women workers (verbal information²⁶).

Gender imbalances are also prevalent in the informal sector: “Gender norms governing the mobility and behavior of women help to explain why, in most countries and contexts, unpaid contributing family workers and home-based producers are predominantly women, while informal employers are predominantly men” (Kanbur qtd. Chen 2012: 11). As argued in this research, variables intersect: informal labor is mostly done by less educated workers (75% of workers with no formal education and 63% still in primary school) (ILO 2014).

Additionally, “Gender norms governing the mobility and behavior of women help to explain why, in most countries and contexts, unpaid contributing family workers and home-based producers are predominantly women, while informal employers are predominantly men” (Chen 2012: 11). Women are employed predominantly within the domestic service sector, as well as self-employment, public sector, and the mentioned “bulk of the workforce of labor-intensive export-oriented manufacturing industries” (ILO 2008). As women have lower incomes than men, they also contribute and utilize less social insurance coverage and are more affected by the shrink of public social services and as well as the increase in informal employment throughout the Americas during the 80's (ILO 2008). The gendered informal division of labor is also influenced by variables of level of education and age (ILO/Forlac 2015), not to mention the torrid racial legacy of colonialist expansion.

²⁶Interview with the Chairperson of the Women's league at the Steel Machinery Engineering Workers Federation of India and member of IndustriALL Global Union Base Metals Steering Committee Meeting.Meeting at United Steelworkers - November 3th, 2017.

Graph 1 – Vulnerable employment in Latin America per gender



Source: International Labour Office/ World Bank (World Development Indicators). Available at: <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator#topic-17>. Accessed in March 5th, 2016.

There are also issues linked to femininity: in the maquiladora factories of Mexico, employers use narratives to justify low wages that are based on the myth of the young, malleable, and docile girl laborer, “the most idealized caricature of the global assembly line worker” (Freeman 2000: 102). Narratives vary from “[they are] first time wage earners” (Freeman 2000: 105) to “these women work only for complementary domestic budgets” or “these are young women who work for little money to buy some lipsticks”. Along the borders of Mexico, specifically in Ciudad Juarez, *Ni una mas* – a campaign to end female homicides – was born. “By middle 2002, there were 282 victims of femicide [...] and more four hundreds disappeared” (Fregoso 2003: 1). The feminist group Group 8 de Marzo reported these workers were poor and dark women, many of whom were mutilated, tortured, and sexually violated. Professor Rosa Fregoso (2003) argues that the Mexican state took two narrative forms explain the murders: negation – denial that the killings were systematic – and disaggregation – blaming the victims by arguing supposedly non normative behaviors, transgression of sexual norms, such as

lesbianism and *doble vida* (“respectable” work by day and sex work by night) provoked the killings.

Women’s employment is more pro-cyclically volatile than men’s, presents patterns of gender segregation, and men’s and women’s relative employment volatility, is disproportionately concentrated in specific sectors, occupations, or jobs “more vulnerable to job loss during downturns” (Galli and Kucera 2008: 4). The design of women’s vulnerability in the labor market is not random, it’s based on social perceptions, for example, “colonial discriminatory policies which show a consensus between the colonial state apparatus and traditional authorities to control women’s mobility and sexuality kept them out of the commercial, administrative, and industrial labor markets” deepened during periods of liberalization (Tsikata 2009: 155).

1.1.2 Race

Structural racism, just like institutional gender discrimination, can be understood as structures of racist conditioning leading to differences in treatment in the labor market and beyond and thus inequality. Structural racism directs forms of violence, such as the shooting of a Black community in a church by a member sympathetic to the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), is perceived as racist violence. “Softer” forms of aggression, such as some specific police brutality (for instance police stopping Black people more frequently, aren’t recognized as such; they would be “coincidences” or facts due to, for instance, the prevalence of violence in Black communities without a deeper comprehension of why violence occurs. Softer forms of aggression, such as micro aggressions, neo manifestations of racism, neo slavery, and neo slave narratives are all part of the structural racism.

Structural racism predates “scientific” discourse in the 19th century based on race and sexuality (Somerville 1997). The project of the Nation-state and its embodied idea of citizenship – a concept, notion, abstraction of collective image – is a hegemonic

narrative that reflects memories of the winner, the colonizer, the white, and the dominant. When race is understood through the lens of colonialism, national identity is the Benedict Anderson's imagined community²⁷, Ernest Renan's wish and forgetting²⁸. As the narrative of the winner, gendered and racialized notions of European social order were projected against African cultural disorder, based on difference and human hierarchy: "women's African-ness seemed contingent on the linkages between sexuality and a savagery that fitted them for both productive and reproductive labor" (Morgan 1997: 184). Later on, either abolitionists or anti-abolitionists "accepted the connections between race, animality, the legitimacy of slavery" (Morgan 1997: 189).

This *idée fixe* or imaginary of *long durée* is reflected in post-traditional slavery and colonization. The "natural subjection" after emancipation was tainted with ideas of racial inferiority, a subjugated and subordinated class under the discourse of the "egalitarian guise" (Hartman 1997: 10). Racial discourses reached racial minorities differently. Colonial projections and slavery created the perception of indigeneity as "noble" savages and thus less violent.

The Brazilian novel *Iracema* remarks "the virgin of the honey lips and the hair darker than the wings of a graúna" (Alencar 2013 [1865]: 27, my translation), for instance, is an allegory of a seductive and beautiful native in literary tradition and Portuguese colonization. Indians, as is well known, have been raped, marginalized,

²⁷ An imagined community is a parallel to a nation: people perceive themselves as part of a group, "an imagined political community... [a nation] is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (Anderson 2006[1983]: 6).

²⁸ A quote of Ernest Renan might be self-explained of what is wish and forgetting in constructing a nation: "A nation is a soul, a spiritual principle. Two things which, properly speaking, are really one and the same constitute this soul, this spiritual principle. One is the past, the other is the present. One is the possession in common of a rich legacy of memories; the other is present consent, the desire to live together, the desire to continue to invest in the heritage that we have jointly received. Messieurs, man does not improvise. The nation, like the individual, is the outcome of a long past of efforts, sacrifices, and devotions. Of all cults, that of the ancestors is the most legitimate: our ancestors have made us what we are. A heroic past with great men and glory (I mean true glory) is the social capital upon which the national idea rests. These are the essential conditions of being a people: having common glories in the past and a will to continue them in the present; having made great things together and wishing to make them again. One loves in proportion to the sacrifices that one has committed and the troubles that one has suffered (Renan 1992[1882]: 11).

sterilized in an attempt of racial extermination in Brazil (as probably was the actual Iracema) and elsewhere, but have not been docile. As a scientific doctrine, racism in Brazil was born at the end of slavery, mediating political equality (Guimarães 2004) and justifying neomanifestations of racism, later on reinforced by Fernandes' (2015) research about the myth of racial democracy and other prominent studies, such as Hasenbalg and Silva's research about disparities in education between white students and students of color, white workers and workers of color, and social mobility, over others (Hasenbalg; Silva, 2013; 1992). Araújo and Lombardi (2013) demonstrate that at the beginning of this century, in Brazil women's, and especially women of color's work, are more frequently informal than men's. Plus, the informal sector admitted more women (of color) than men.

Perceptions and narratives can change over time depending on national necessities. South Africa's history to end the *apartheid workplace regime* (Von Holdt 2003 qtd. Webster, Lambert and Bezuidenhout 2008), from 1948 to 1994, is one example: "White workers enjoyed power and privilege and black workers were excluded from skilled and supervisory positions" so South Africa "could not be understood in simple class terms. Social reality was based on a 'colonialism of a special type' necessitating national-democratic rather than class struggle as the appropriate strategic response" (Webster, Lambert and Bezuidenhout 2008: 162-163). Race bends to the labor market, not the other way around. We can look to the US/Mexican Border to display this point. The US used to have a 'backdoor policy' when Mexican labor was needed for agro businesses; workers were let in as needed by capitalists and then they were expelled later on when these workers were not needed. During World War I, Mexican workers were considered "heroic braceros". From 1950 on, however, this reference became less prominent and Mexicans became one of the "degraded races". In other words, the US economy is "addicted to immigrant labor but [won't] pay the cost [of decent wages]" (New York Times report 2006).

Image 1 – Braceros (Mexican workers) are welcome, 1962



Source: The New York Times. *Borders, Open and Closed*. Available at:
http://www.nytimes.com/packages/khtml/2006/05/21/weekinreview/20060521_BERN_FEATURE.html.
 Accessed in August 23th, 2016.

1.1.3 Age

“Hold your burgers, hold your fries, make our wages super-size!”

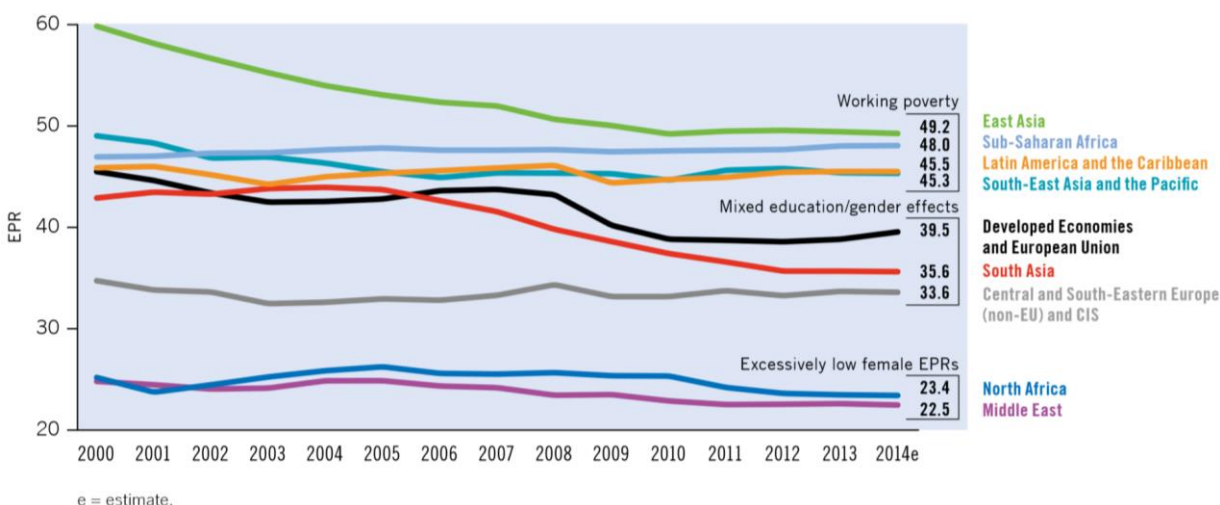
This rhythm was loudly chanted during the United Students Against Sweatshops’ (USAS)²⁹ National Conference on Pittsburgh, USA, in February 2016 (fieldwork). The rally, together with United Steelworkers (USW), was part of the campaign “Fight for \$15” to increase the minimum wage in fast food and retail stores. The logic is simple: the narrative that jobs in these stores are for young workers who don’t need to perform as breadwinners is a fallacy actually the majority of fast-food workers are substantially poor, single, young mothers and fathers or mature workers, most of color and latin@s, who do need to provide proper income for their families or help with in-house costs (CNN 2015). Just as institutionalized genderism and structural racism, bearers of value in the labor market, push wages and labor conditions down, we see how an argument that takes age into account here clearly intersects with race and immigration.

Age discrimination is a worldwide phenomenon. According to the ILO, in 2015, “two in five (42.6 percent) economically active youth are still either unemployed or working yet living in poverty” and, in 2013 (some time before a relative recovery in youth employment worldwide), “more than one-third (37.8 percent) of employed youth in the developing world were living on less than US\$2 per day” (2015: 1-2). Also, the “youth unemployment rate nearly doubles in the low-income grouping when the relaxed definition of unemployment is applied” (ILO 2015: 7). Poor and young female workers of color, thus, are more likely to be vulnerable – either unemployed or working and still poor – in disaggregate labor rates in national economies.

²⁹ USAS is a national US-based students’ movement against precarious working and living conditions. Although USAS’ name suggests a focus on sweatshops, students also advocate for dignity at work in other companies famous for paying low wages and exploiting workers, as in McDonalds and Wal-Mart. For more information, see United Students Against Sweatshops. *About*. Available at: <http://usas.org/about/>. Accessed in July 16th, 2017.

Additionally, although disadvantageous conditions and wages are global phenomena, there are some regional specific characteristics around how young (un)employment or precarious employment is designed. If in the “developed” economies vulnerability is highly linked to issues as levels of education and gender, in Latin America the phenomenon of the working poor is more common:

Graph 2 – Youth employment-to-population ratios, by region, 2000-14³⁰



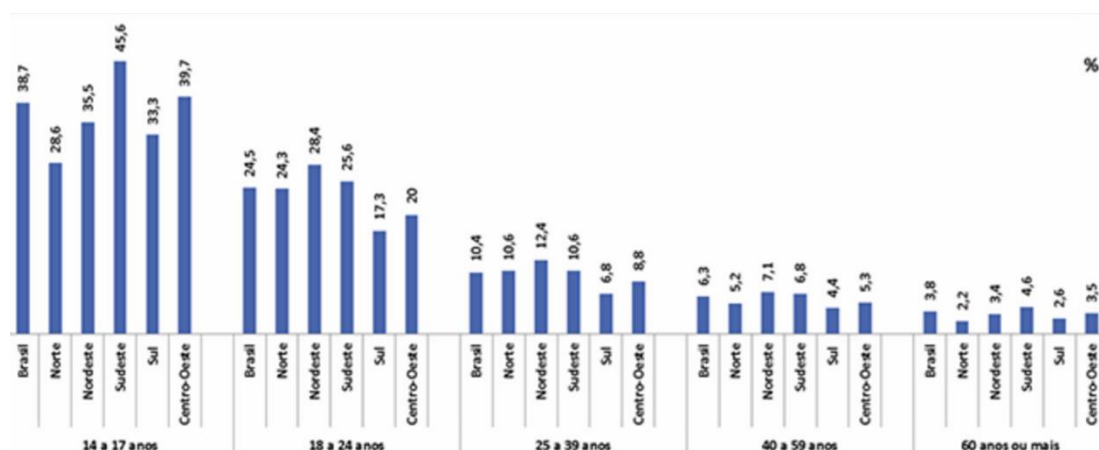
Source: ILO, *Trends Econometric Models*, April 2015. Available at: http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/---publ/documents/publication/wcms_412015.pdf. Accessed in August 23rd, 2016.

³⁰ Here it's worth of inclusion some relevant information about ILO's definition:

- "Global youth employment-to-population ratio (EPR)" is "the share of the working-age population that is employed" (ILO 2015: 13);
- "Working poverty" is the situation in which workers are poor, although in the condition of workers: "In 2013, more than one-third (37.8 per cent) of employed youth (aged 15–24) in the developing world were poor (17.7 per cent in extreme poverty at less than US\$1.25 per day and 20.1 per cent in moderate poverty at less than US\$2 per day [...])" (ILO 2015: 47);
- "Mixed education/gender effects" is not clearly defined by ILO's report, but as access to education "becomes a further element in labour market segmentation and inequality [some workers are more vulnerable than others since]. Young workers in low-income countries are three times more likely to be undereducated than young workers in upper middle-income countries". It is supposed, them that this is an effect correlated with gender in lots of countries;
- "Female EPRs" is the share of economically active female workers in the employment-to-population ratio.

In some parts of Latin America, levels of poverty are high enough for state and class organizations to propose a *regulation of child labor*. In Bolivia, president Evo Morales promulgated the New Code of Children and Teenagers to establish for children the same rights of young workers (17-18 years old). The Union of Girls and Boys Workers of Bolivia (Unión de Niños y Niñas Trabajadores de Bolivia, UNATSBO) supported the law. Whether or not the Code could protect or increase child labor, the fact is that adolescent work is also a widespread reality, for instance, in Bangladesh (16.7% is the share in hazardous employment in the youth population aged 15-17), Togo (14.6%), Uganda (11.9%), Vietnam (24.3), and Brazil (12.5%) (ILO 2015). Brazil also shows trends by region and age. It's worth mentioning that paid work is illegal for teenagers under 14 in the national law.

Graph 3 - Unemployment rates by age and region, Brazil, August 2016



Source: Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (2016). *PNAD Contínua: taxa de desocupação cresce em todas as grandes regiões no 2º trimestre*. Available at: <http://saladeimprensa.ibge.gov.br/noticias?view=noticia id=1 busca=1 idnoticia=3236>. Accessed in August 22th, 2016.

1.1.4 International division of labor

In order to understand immigrant work, it's worth understanding the historical formation of labor markets based on the international division of labor, while taking into account of colonization. Although there are some common perceptions about what is the international division of labor³¹ entails or, yet, the "new" international division of labor in the flexible accumulation³², it's worth defining how it operates and how it came into being. One common definition is based on the differentiation between industrialized and non-industrialized countries. Nevertheless, some countries considered as part of the periphery have complex industrial structures – as Brazil and Mexico – while others considered part of the center still have subsidized agricultural complexes – as France and the US. Additionally, in any country, there will be some level of dichotomy between the rich and poor. In other words, there's Global South in the barriers of Nation-States in the Global North, or poor and marginalized groups in "developed" nations. Finally, as demonstrated throughout this research, the notion of "Global North and South", as well as the international division of labor embedded in its historical formation, an intersectional framework is needed to fully understand social reality.

The international division of labor, as understood in this research, has three main cycles. From 1700 to 1950, the contours of world-periphery persisted until the Second World War. At that time, around 71% of world manufacturing was concentrated

³¹ I agree with Ronald Munck (1988: 2016) in the following terms: "The 'new' division of labour, which has attracted much attention recently, we found to be neither so new nor so uncontaminated by the old division of labour. Uneven development is not a metaphysical law but an observable effect of the global expansion of capitalism".

³² According to Harvey 2007 [1989] the flexible accumulation is "marked by a direct confrontation with the rigidities of Fordism. It rests on flexibility with respect to labour processes, labour markets, products, and patterns of consumption. It is characterized by the emergence of entirely new sectors of production, new ways of providing financial services, new markets, and, above all, greatly intensified rates of commercial, technological, and organizational innovation. It has entrained rapid shifts in the patterning of uneven development, both between sectors and between geographical regions, giving rise, for example, to a vast surge in so-called 'service-sector' employment as well as to entirely new industrial ensembles in hitherto underdeveloped regions . . . Has also also entailed a new round of what I shall call 'time-space compression'. . . in the capitalist world -- the time horizons of both private and public decision-making have shrunk, while satellite communication and declining transport costs have made it increasingly possible to spread those decisions immediately over an ever wider and variegated space" (147).

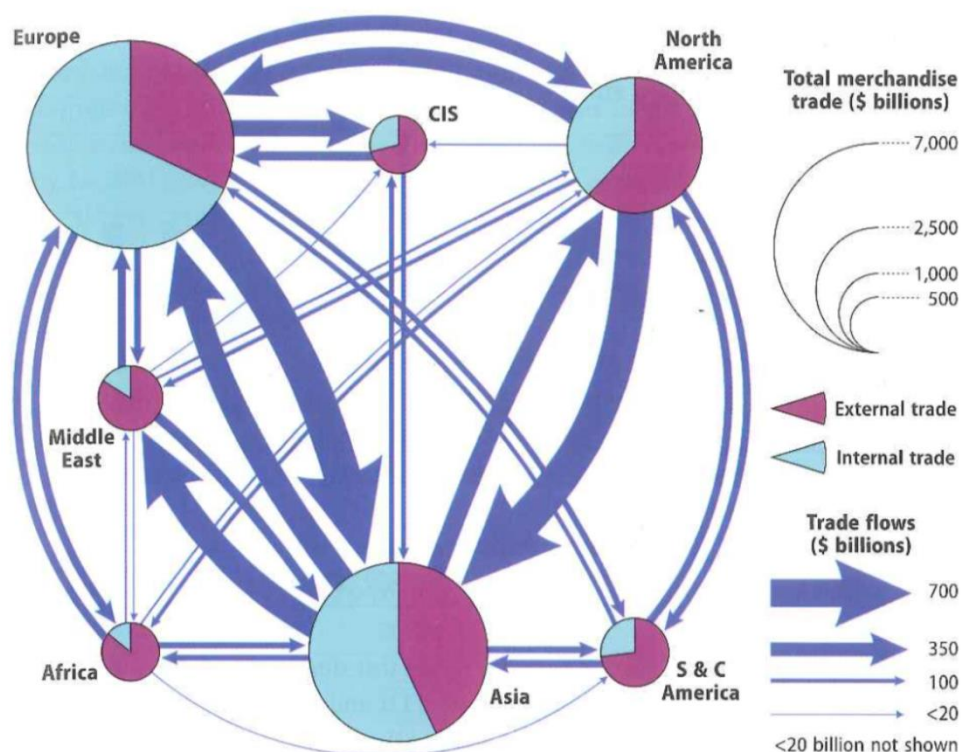
in four countries and 90% in eleven countries (Dicken 2015 [1998]: 14). As we shall see, this distribution didn't change much. In the first international division of labor, right after the First Industrial Revolution, England arises as "the country with original industrialization, transformed immediately in a huge workshop of the world over the XIX century [...] assuming alone the center of the world capitalism" (Pochmann 2016: 5-6, my translation)³³. This 'success was not created in a vacuum, England was importing raw materials from colonies in the Global South.

The Second international division of labor surfaced right after the Second World War and hard economic experiences of the 1930's, the United States positioned itself as the stronger side in the fight with the Soviet Union (owing ¼ of global GDP), at the same time semi-peripheral countries emerge in the global arena³⁴. Semi-peripheral countries engaged or in the anti-systemic strategy (planned economy), or in the pro-systemic strategy (underdeveloped market economy). Authoritarian experiences and increase in income concentration were observed in the semi-periphery: Brazil was one of the paradigmatic cases at this time. Semi-peripheral countries have consistently less manufactured products for exportation if compared to countries in the center of the world system (Pochmann 2016; Hobsbawn 1994; Harvey 2007 [1989]; Cox 1996 [1991]). Since the 1950's, there was an increased volatility of aggregate economic growth conjugated with growing interconnectedness of distinct parts of the world (inward FDI is one evidence) (Dicken 2015 [1998]: 19). The following figure shows the consequences of such interconnectedness recently:

³³ Original text: "país de industrialização originária, transformada imediatamente em grande oficina do mundo ao longo do século XIX [...] assumindo isoladamente o centro do capitalismo mundial".

³⁴ "Countries considered center of capitalism are: Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, England, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Switzerland, and United States. Countries at the semi-periphery: Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Chile, China, Greece, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Hungary, India, Ireland, New Zealand, Mexico, Poland, Portugal, Taiwan, Turkish, Romania, Russia, South Africa, South Korea, Venezuela, and Yugoslavia. Countries at the periphery: Algeria, Bahamas, Bangladesh, Barbados, Bermuda, Bolivia, Botswana, Burma, Colombia, Cote d'Ivoire, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Gambia, Ghana, Indonesia, Jamaica, Kenya, Mauritius, Morocco, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Pakistan, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Sierra Leone, Sri Lanka, Tanzania, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Zaire, Zimbabwe" (POCHMANN, s.d.).

Figure 1 – The network Trade by Region



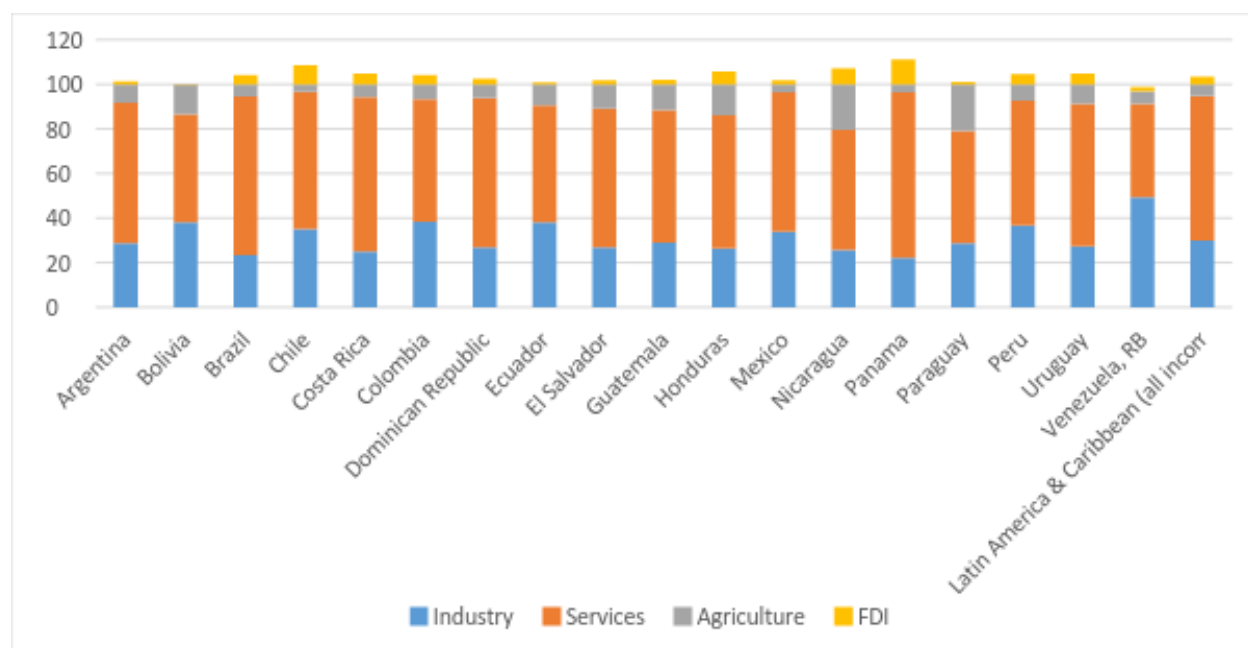
Source: Dicken, Peter. **Global Shift:** Mapping the Changing Contours of the World Economy. 7th edition. New York: The Guilford Press, 2015 [1998].

The third international division of labor emerged from the 1970's on and was due to managerial restructuring, technology, higher income concentration in the productive and financial/banking sectors, oligopolistic tendencies, and expansion of Foreign Direct Investments to the semi-periphery (Pochmann 2016). New industries became allocated outside central countries and were used to serve local and international markets (Hobsbawn 1994: 276). One of the central issues impacting workers was the capacity of deepening the “comparative advantages” of countries in which multinationals implement their productive capability, always looking for better niches to lower labor costs, raw materials, and so on (id., ibid. 15). One of the “comparative advantages is the work of women in processing industry. In the 2000's, for instance, “[...] some scholars have estimated that in the export-processing zones of the

‘Third World’ up to 90% of all workers are women” (Herod 2001: 156). Currently, $\frac{3}{4}$ of global manufacturing and service jobs, 90% of the world agricultural production, and more than 80% of outward Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) originated or concentrated in 15 countries (Dicken 2015 [1998]: 26).

Considering the international division of labor illustrated in this research, it's worth bearing in mind that some countries remain at the very center of the capitalist world system. With this framing, I don't aim to deny the importance, for instance, of Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa (BRICS), but pointing out the limits of the supposed newness of an international capitalist order. In this sense, although this research focuses on a Brazilian multinational corporation, it's not the case that the existence of some companies in the steel industry from the GS (i.e. the steel Indian company Tata, besides Gerdau) are challenging the configuration of the international division of labor. As a matter of fact, all economies in Latin America are based mostly in low aggregate value sectors, such as services, as shown in the graph below:

Graph 4 - National economies by sectors and FDI, last data (2010-2014), Latin America



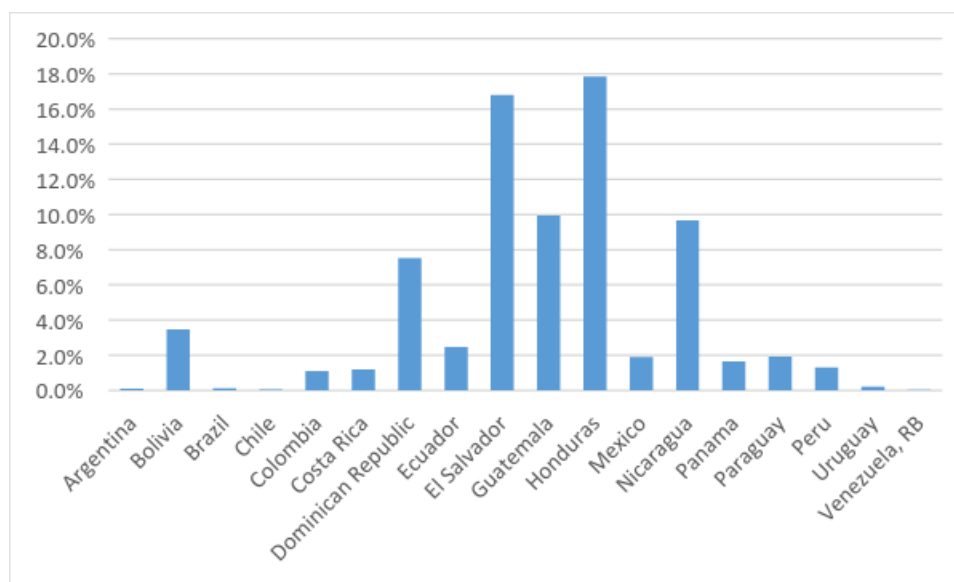
Source: World Bank. *World Development Indicators*. Available at: <http://data.worldbank.org/data-catalog/world-development-indicators>. Accessed in August 18th, 2016. (Staff calculation based on data from IMF Balance of Payments Statistics database and data releases from central banks, national statistical agencies, and World Bank country desks. All numbers are in current (nominal) US\$. Date: October 2015).

1.1.5 Immigration

One of the side effects of differentiations based on the international division of labor, colonization, and concentration of surplus value in countries that are center of capital ownership (US and UE) is the immigration of people and, consequently, of the labor force. It's the *individual or communal agency* side of globalization, from individuals or groups that take the initiative to move out of a structural situation that doesn't change much. Since data on immigration flows are usually imprecise due to the difficulty of

obtaining reliable data on populations constantly in flux, remittances (as a share of GDP) are a good indicator of immigration flows as part of national economies:

Graph 5 - Remittances as a share of GDP in 2014 (%), Latin America



Source: World Bank. World Development Indicators. Available at: <http://data.worldbank.org/data-catalog/world-development-indicators>. Accessed in August 18th, 2016. (Staff calculation based on data from IMF Balance of Payments Statistics database and data releases from central banks, national statistical agencies, and World Bank country desks. All numbers are in current (nominal) US\$. Date: October 2015).

As shown, some countries count international remittances as about or more than 10% of national economies. Immigration flows as part of national economies are continuums in time and space (the graph above shows a small photo of a big picture).

Although immigration is often seen as temporary and an opportunity for a person's financial and personal improvement's immediate reality, it is, at the same time, an official politics of state, and the reflection of the world economy post-independence efforts of the colonies. Both the Global North that relies upon cheap and vulnerable immigrant labor force to boost national economies and the Global South that count on

remittances as part of large portion of national GDPs, see the global immigration as a naturalized issue. This migration is frequently not from South to North, but from South to South itself. Migrant worker remittances can be either regarded as an important and more reliable source of capital to finance development [...] than international aid and foreign direct investment” (Rosewarne 2012: 63), for instance, in South and Southeast Asia. Other examples are the *kafala* system in the Arabic world (Sri Lankan, Ethiopian and Bangladeshi women migrate to perform domestic work), the H-2A and H-2B visa system in the United States, and the General Regime (*Regimen General*) in Spain (Herrera 2012). Less formal and more of a side effect of neoliberalism, there are substantial flows from Nicaragua to Costa Rica, Bolivia to Brazil, Peru to Chile (Veiga and Galhera 2015; Mora and Undurraga 2013; Lee 2010). The most recent studies show that of 232 million migrant people in the world in 2015, 150 million (64%) are migrant workers, and that of these, 27% (41 million) live in the American continent (37 million in North America and 4,3 million in Latin America and the Caribbean) (ILO 2016). These networks or *survival circuits* (Sassen 2002) have “limited capacity of individual, low-paid workers to accrue sufficient savings to make consequential investments in development” (Rosewarne 2006: 72). At the same time, continuous immigration flows create migratory cultures (Marroni 2006) from the individual or communal agent, or transplanted networks in Charles Tilly’s (1990) words:

[...] networks migrate; categories stay put; and networks create new categories. By and large, the effective units of migration were (and are) neither individuals nor households but sets of people linked by acquaintance, kinship, and work experience... Where kinsmen, friends, neighbors, and work associates already have good contacts with possible destinations, reliance on established interpersonal networks for information minimizes and spreads the risks. Implicitly recognizing those advantages, the vast majority of potential long-distance migrants anywhere in the world draw their chief information for migration decisions (including the decision to stay put) from members of their interpersonal networks, and rely on those networks for assistance both in moving and in settling at the destination. Their activity then reproduces and extends the networks, especially to extend that by migrating they acquire the possibility and the obligation to supply information and help other potential migrants (Tilly 1990: 84).

Thinking of networks and of some Brazilian cases, there are permanent flow from Governador Valadares to the US (Fusco 2002), insertion of Haitian workers at the construction sector (Fernandes; Castro 2014), besides the permanent flows of Bolivian workers to Sao Paulo (Veiga and Galhera 2016) above mentioned.

Some official state policies rely upon remittances to grow national economies (Honduras and El Salvador, 18%-16% of their national GDPs respectively) in the Global South, just as richer national economies rely on a migratory workforce³⁵ in the Global North. These relationships can be seen on the macro level--as I just pointed out between nations--but exist in the micro level as well-- when people migrate between regions in the same country. Within labor unions, addressing the needs of immigrant laborers is also a challenge. Some of our fieldwork in the garment industry illustrates this challenge:

Interviewee: It is really difficult to organize them. Because... in certain cases, we're... you want to organize the workers, basically they are contract workers. And some [in] big steel plants, they have such working that it keeps these migrant workers inside the company. They have a huge steel plant there... [and] build [in] them housing facilities, [...] live there, in one room. They work to allies in the plant... [...] inside the plant... Only once a week they are allowed to go out, they can do their own shopping, they are taken by bus to the market... So they do their groceries or their shopping [...] and then again they come by bus into the plant. So, if you want to contact them it is very difficult... when will you contact them? Because that is how it is... They stay inside the factory.

Interviewer: Why do they stay inside the factory?

Interviewee: Because the management doesn't want to them to get [out]. [They are] familiar with the local people and so then, you try to organize them, and the management doesn't want it.

Interviewer: This is a practice that local workers wouldn't do... or do they do as well?

Interviewee: No, because the local workers go home (verbal information³⁶).

This is not something exclusive to the steel industry or new: in our fieldwork with Bolivian women workers in São Paulo, we realized that, as migrant steel male workers in India, immigrant Bolivian female workers in Brazil were (probably are)

³⁵ This issue is shown humorously in the film "A day without a Mexican", in which all Mexican immigrants disappear leaving the white middle class lost among dirt flushes, children to take care of, meals to be cooked and delivered.

³⁶ Interview with the Chairperson of the Women's league at the Steel Machinery Engineering Workers Federation of India and member of IndustriALL Global Union Base Metals Steering Committee Meeting. Meeting at United Steelworkers - November 3th, 2017.

working and living in the same place and usually were very unlikely to cooperate with NGOs or public entities, since they were familiar with other people in the sweatshops, frequently in literal kinship with their bosses (Veiga and Galhera 2017).

Immigrant workers don't share the same rights as national citizens. Since the formation of national states, social institutions derived from the Westphalia Peace emerged in the form of boundaries, Nation-states, and sovereignty. These relationships organized the globe (economy) based on a world system with asymmetries of power. As a matter of fact, immigrant workers in Brazil raise less money than national ones. The comparative difference in wages between nationals and foreigners are deeper depending on variables of gender, level of formal education, documentation status (immigrant, refugee, whether or not with national "papers"), acculturation, language learning, and even area in the original country (Veiga and Galhera 2016). The Brazilian legislation in regards to foreign workers was developed during the dictatorship (1964-1985) and until recently was based on a vague idea of "national interest" (Brazil 1980). Stated simply: quality of one's work depends on his/ her/ their immigrant or citizenship status, as professor Fudge (1999: 96) argues:

The insight from this literature is that the state, through immigration law, creates a variety of different migration statuses, some of which are highly precarious, that in turn generate a differentiated supply of labor that produces precarious workers and precarious employment norms. Identifying the constitutive role of immigration law in institutionalizing precarious employment norms for migrant workers enables us better to assess the adequacy of international human rights instruments that are designed to protect migrant workers. On their face, international human rights norms offer a more promising avenue for protecting migrant workers from precarious employment than do claims based upon citizenship, a formal legal status that migrant workers do not enjoy in the state in which they are working.' Human rights, by contrast, are invoked and apply on the basis of humanity and personhood, a much broader status that does not depend upon political membership in the host state.

The new problem, thus, would be *how* to construct binding international norms that lift up international workers, since professor Fudge's examples – ILO and UN – are organizations based on soft enforcement mechanisms of international labor regulation. In this case, we also see the legacy of the Westphalian "Peace" jam packed

with a colonial heritage that is conjugated with social perceptions around social markers of difference, another issue that professor Fudge unfortunately doesn't problematize.

As with structural racism, perceptions about women and the immigrant are social constructs. Following the same logic of structural racism where modern nation-states reflect a perceived racial status, citizenship status also reflects a constructed level of racism and chauvinism. In one of the panels at NGO CAMI, that advocated for immigrant rights in Brazil, in 2014, the Coordinator for the Eradication of Slave Labor in Sao Paulo state was inspired by Simone de Beauvoir, a main second wave feminism proponent, and her quote "One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman". The coordinator stated for the Latino side of one of the main local newspapers "One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman and an immigrant"³⁷ (Folha de S. Paulo 2014).

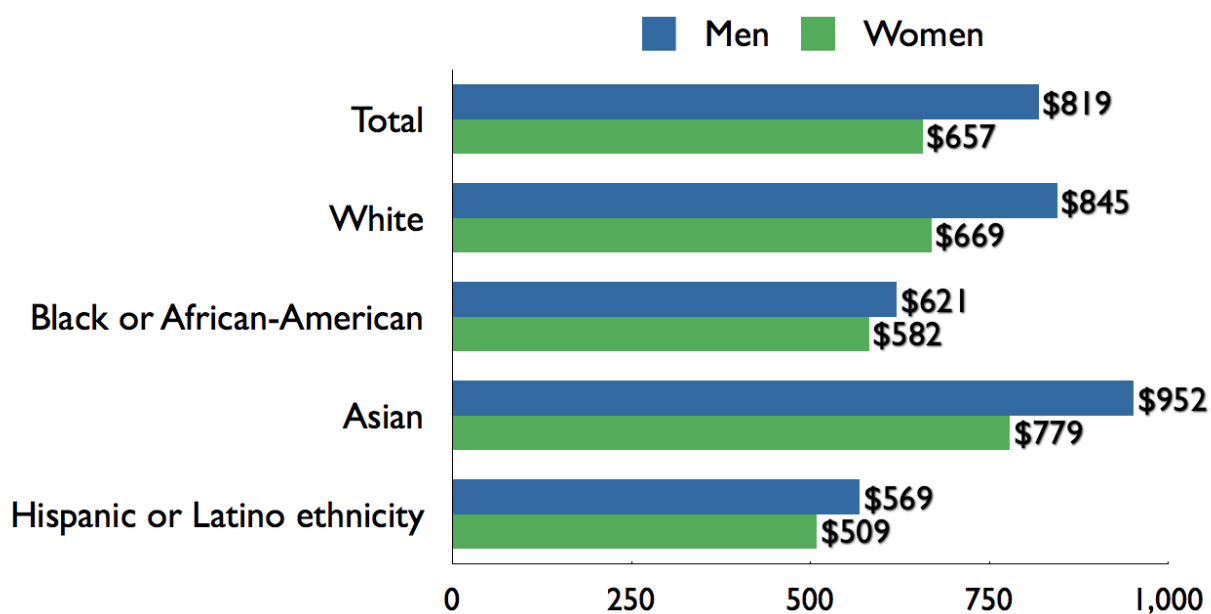
1.1.6 Class

At this point, having pointed out extensive intersections among variables, we see that neutral narratives about class alone ignore differences derived from particularities of gender – including gender identity and sexuality –, race, youth, nationality, disability, and so on. Class, alone, as a sociological concept, is bound to these particularities. As Robert Cox (1996 [1981]: 389) argues, class formation is "a dialectic of opportunities created by changes in the structure of production and of praxis evolved in response to those opportunities", in which dominant groups explore identities such as ethnic and religious to maintain the status quo.

As a consequence, conjugated with inequalities derived from slavery and misogyny *together with* class, including in labor unions, societies provide the basis of not only wage differentials amongst different groups, but also unequal unionization rates:

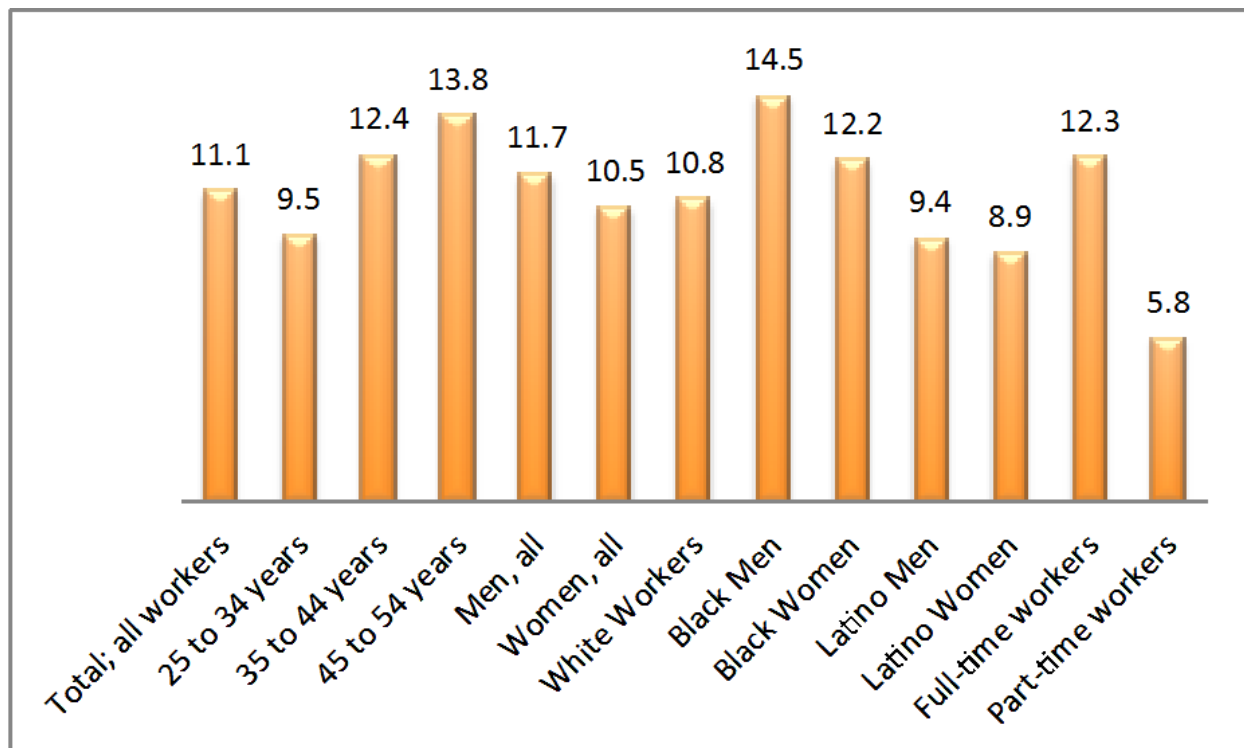
³⁷ Original quote: "Nosotras no nacemos mujeres, no nacemos inmigrantes. Es una contingencia".

Graph 6 - Median weekly earnings, full-time workers, by gender and race, USA, 2010



Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics. *Median Weekly Earning, full-time workers*. Available at: <http://www.bls.gov/>. Accessed in August 24th, 2016.

Graph 7 - Unionization Rates by gender, race, and age, USA, 2014

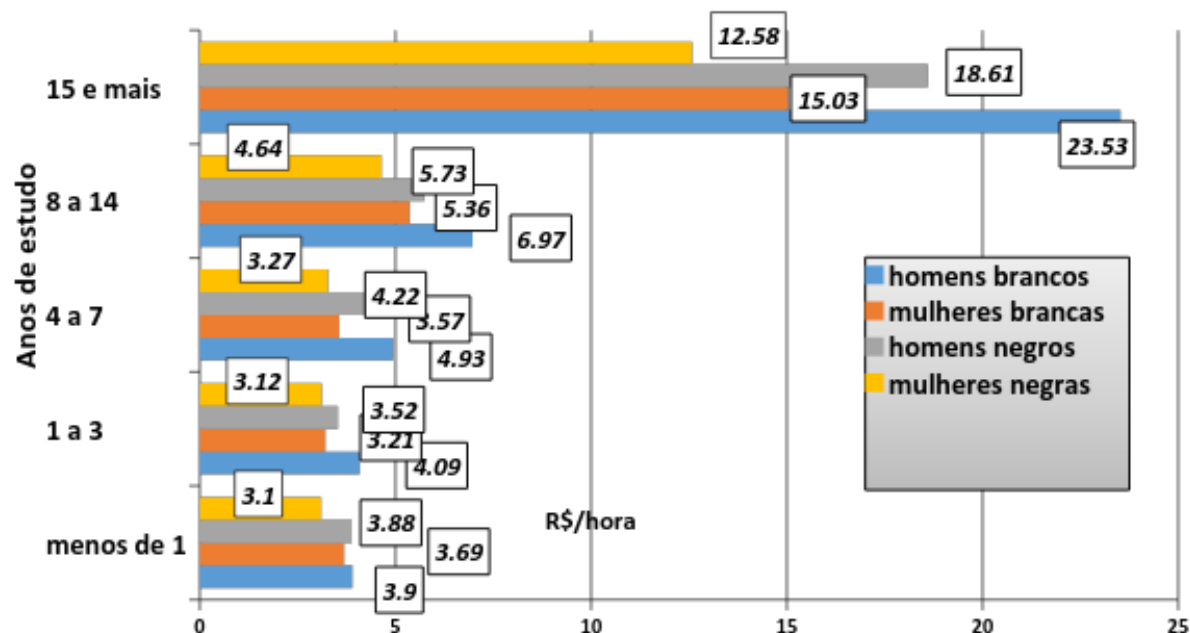


Source: Department of Labor. *Unionization rates by race, gender and class, 2014*. Available at: <https://www.dol.gov/>. Accessed in 24th August, 2016.

Brazil follows the same pattern, which shows that differences based on gender, race, and age are international phenomena. Brazil has a strong colonial past and enslaved more Africans than any other country in the Americas. It was also the last western country to abolish slavery. Afterwards, the country became an independent monarchy with an economy that relied on Japanese and European labor, the latter bringing with them communist, anarchist, and anarcho-syndicalist ideologies (Anner and Veiga 2013: 266; Araújo 1994; Hall 2002; Skidmore and Smith 2001). When the sugar economy declined, the oligarchic *café com leite* economy raised. In 1930s, in the context of the Great Depression, Getulio Vargas (GV) came to power via a *coup d'état* and inaugurated the Brazilian legal system of labor relations, which is often compared to

Roosevelt's New Deal. Vargas is considered, by the popular imaginary, “the father of the poor”. At the same time, Vargas suppressed radical labor movements based on the Europeans ideologies mentioned, and stipulated labor rights only for formal and stable workers, excluding, then, vulnerable workers, mostly Black, female, or from other minorities. In 1932, women’s right to vote was stipulated, but the right to vote is only one the myriad of women’s rights and the country remains a hotbed of gender oppression. As a result, and following similar patterns of other countries, the Brazilian labor market pyramid is stratified.

Graph 8 – Earnings by hour according to gender, race, and schooling, Brazil, 2009



Source: Pesquisa Nacional de Amostra de Domicílios (PNAD). *Earnings/ hour according to gender, race, and schooling. Brazil, 2009.* Available at: http://www.ibge.gov.br/home/estatistica/pesquisas/pesquisa_resultados.php?id_pesquisa=149. Accessed in May 24th, 2014.

Graph 9 - Unionization and formal employment Rates by gender, Brazil and SP, 2012-2016

	2012	2015	2016
Total Brazil	13,60%	12,10%	
Brazil - men	15,30%	13,10%	
Brazil - women	11,90%	11,20%	
Formal male workers (SP region)		57,70%	57,20%
Formal female workers (SP region)		51,70%	51%

Source: Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (2015). **Pesquisa Nacional por Amostra de Domicílios - Síntese de Indicadores 2015**. Available at: <https://biblioteca.ibge.gov.br/visualizacao/livros/liv98887.pdf>. Accessed in December 26th, 2017.
 Departamento Intersindical de Estatística e Estudos Socioeconômicos (2016). **Mulher & Trabalho - A Mulher no Mercado de Trabalho em 2016 (Região Metropolitana de São Paulo)**. Available at: <https://www.dieese.org.br/analisepec/2016/2016pedmulhersao.pdf>. Accessed in December 26th, 2017.

Labor organizations that refer to neutral class narratives are likely to reinforce the actual structure of the labor market that tends to employ specific vulnerable groups. The once well employed and stable worker in the “Age of Gold” (Hobsbawn 1994), the Ford worker that used to spend vacations in the beach, is increasingly being substituted by a desperate workforce laboring hard to have some improvements in his or her own previous unemployed condition. The question is whether or not the labor movement is going to make efforts to empower both workers worldwide in order to decrease the inequality multinational companies exploit for profit, or take protectionist measures trying temporarily to protect specific relatively stable *loci*.

1.2 Evidences of labor agency in history

Some expressed union's experiences in history show that movements likely to broaden the scope of the union were historically also likely to take into account identity politics, fostering international solidarity and alliances. A central concept to understand these organization's *ethos* is the new social unionism:

The concept of a new social unionism (NSU) is intended to relate to and appropriate for our contemporary world. This is a world increasingly marked by the dramatic expansion and equally dramatic transformations of capitalist, military, state, imperial, technical and patriarchal forms and powers. It is consequently marked by the appearance of what I will call the new alternative social movements (NASMs – feminist, anti-militarist, human-rights, ecological, etc.) alongside such old ones as those of traditional religion, nation or labour). But we must also remember that the overwhelming majority of the world's workers (including the traditionally-defined proletariat) is not unionised. And, even if defined as workers, the overwhelming majority of the poor, powerless, marginalised and alienated are not unionisable (Waterman 1999: 247-8).

One interesting example taken by professor Waterman (based on Chhachhi and Pittin's work over women in India and Nigeria in 1996) is women's experience being identified as part of the working class:

1) the contradictory and historically specific impact of patriarchy, capitalism and colonialism leads to fragmented and diverse experiences, leading to multiple identities amongst both female and male workers; 2) such identities are selectively mobilised and asserted in response to specific forms of manipulation and repression; 3) the separation of the private and the public, the factory and the home, the personal and political leads not to opposed spheres or strategies, but rather to a profusion and overlapping of identities, spaces and possible strategies; 4) the double burden of women's work can be as much an impetus to organising as an obstacle (Waterman 1999: 252).

Although not employing the term "identity politics", labor organizations illustrate that they were able to be anti-racist and anti-sexist before the U.S. Civil Rights' Movement of the 60's May 68 in France, clear anti-apartheid values worldwide, or The United Nations' human rights' immigration policy. The general understanding is that "Insofar as workers are increasingly recognised as - or asserting themselves - in favour

of rights, peace, a clean environment and gender-awareness, they can both broaden the appeal of unionism and increase the number of their allies” (Waterman 1999: 50).

The new social unionism as a term was catalyzed by professor Peter Waterman in the end of the 1990's, based on observations in the 70's, a moment when identity politics had flourished in the center of capitalism. The following cases are mostly of the past, which incurs the risk of suggesting some anachronism. This is not the case. What's argued here is that historically some union organizations were aware of dividing forces within the working class. In other words, I do not aim to state that the new social unionism is a solution, but that the interlocking of various struggles, expressed in identity politics, show some interesting results for our research. Thus,

the problem is seen [in new social contradictions, new social subjects, and new social movements] - simultaneously - as the interlocked and interdependent structures of capital, state, industrialism, patriarchy, imperialism and racism; the end is the overcoming of exploitation and domination throughout society; this project [of new social unionism] is seen as realisable only by the articulation of the autonomous demands of different types of workers, of the working class and other 'working classes', of class, democratic and popular demands (Waterman 1999: 251).

Three cases under analysis are: Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) in the US, from 1905 until 1920; The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), from 1985 on; and the Kilusang Mayo Uno (KMU) Labor Center of the Philippines, from 1980 on. All these organizations are still alive - IWW was revived during the 70's anti-war efforts - and might be linked with the identity politics.

At IWW (USA), ideology was shared between anarchists and communists. Prominent leaders from the Socialist Party, such as Eugene Debs, launched IWW. It included participation of women, such as Lucy Parsons and Mary Jones, Black, and immigrant workers. It's worth remembering that rights of minorities were stated or advanced later, in some cases much later,, such as the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, in 1920, or the Civil Rights movement, in the 60's. Following the Knights of Labor “an injury to one is the concern of all” motto, IWW's slogan “an injury to one is an injury to all” expressed the *praxis* of industrial unionism: the idea of *uniting* workers, instead of *dividing* workers through trade-specific craft

unions (Flynn, Smith and Trautmann 2014). Nowadays IWW works with vulnerable minorities through working groups, such as incarcerated workers doing prison labor. IWW's international history is long: it included branches in Asia, Africa, Europe, Canada, and Australia.

The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) in its original concept has had a proposal of a non-racism and sexism, within democratic South Africa. COSATU was directly involved in anti-apartheid struggles in South Africa until apartheid's end, in late 1994. The Congress' logo is summarized in this idea:

The wheel represents the economy. The workers who drive the economy and the woman with a baby representing the triple challenges of economic exploitation, racial and gender oppression. The colours, Red flag for the working class, Black for the struggle against racial oppression by the black majority, and Gold for the wealth of South Africa. The slogan of an injury to one is an injury to all is about the vision of social solidarity that binds the working class (COSATU 2017).

Figure 2 - COSATU's logo



Source: Congress of South African Trade Unions. **Brief history of COSATU.** Available at: <http://www.cosatu.org.za/show.php?ID=925>. Accessed in March 4th, 2017.

Organizing at COSATU included self-sufficiency, or no interference of funders. Another central issue is the “one industry, one union” philosophy:

one country, one federation - In order to unite workers across sectors, we have grouped our unions into industries. Our 6th National Congress resolved to merge unions into cartels or broad sectors such as public sector and manufacturing (see list of unions). We also remain committed to unity with all unions and federations that are committed to, among others, these principles. At the same time, for as long as there is no single federation, we have no choice but to recruit even those workers who belong to other unions and federations (COSATU 2017).

COSATU is a major force in union internationalism. For instance, currently COSATU is part of the Global Labor University, an international network of union organizations, researchers, universities, and centers united for understanding issues linked to the globalized economy for workers (Global Labor University 2017), as well as specialization of people from the labor movement and workers' leaderships.

The Kilusang Mayo Uno (KMU) Labor Center of the Philippines, or May First Movement, was launched on May 1st, 1980, and still exists. Early efforts included struggles against dictatorship under Marcos, evidence of a broader scope of their work. Also, there's a women's department - Kilusang Manggagawang Kababaihan (KMK: Women Workers' Movement):

[...] challenging women's oppression within the workplace, society, and the unions... In 1989, its programs focused on winning greater maternity leave benefits for all women, establishing day care facilities in workplaces, ending sexual harassment, and solving health problems of women workers in the factories (Scipes 2016: 144).

Forms of organizing at KMU included alliances, based on geography, industry, and company ownership. This framework for organizing provided the possibility of a largely female labor force in the Bataan Export Processing Zone (BEPZ) struggling against military repression in the Inter-Asia Company in June 1982. Education - just as raising class consciousness - is an important issue at KMU, as well as international solidarity: workers and labor leaders from around the world are yearly invited to participate at exposure to Philippine realities (Scipes 2016).

IWW, COSATU, and KMU-KMK suggest that ways of organizing, educational tactics, historic contexts, economic situations, and continents may vary, but that there's a strong correlation between identity politics - whether expressed in NSU or not - and

internationalization of labor organizations. So it makes sense to say that identity politics and internationalism are conjugated in innovations in organizing, such as organizational structure, educational components, and so on. At this point it's worth to point out why it is important identity politics in an increasingly globalized, interconnected, and interdependent economy. Professor Waterman, again, helps us to elucidate the case:

The terrain of struggle increasingly spreads from "economics" and "politics" to "society" as a whole, and it equally shifts from the national level both downwards to the local and upwards to the global. Conventional labour movements - left, right and centre - typically prioritise "economic struggle" (against capital), or "political struggle" (against the state), or varying combinations and stages of the one and the other (the political-economic unionism of Richard Hyman 1994). This made sense in the period of the capitalist nation-state, or of "nation-state-dependent" capitalism. But the new or revived notion of "civil society" indicates another new terrain of struggle - that of popular self-organisation outside, or independent of, capital and state. There has, thus, been increasing recognition of the importance of "society" as a disputed terrain, and as one central to social emancipation and transformation. The centrality of the nation-state during the period of industrial capitalism has increasingly been challenged, both by international bodies and forces (both inter-state and "inter-civil-society") and by sub-national communities (regional, ethnic, local). Conventional unions, oriented to the "national economy", the "nation state", find it difficult to operate at these new, increasingly important, social levels (Waterman 1999: 251).

Some actual experiences of workers show that broader alliances may also be formed within groupings organized through identity politics. Peter Evans (2015) uses an international campaign at United Auto Workers (UAW) as a case study in which economic gains wouldn't have effect for workers to show this issue:

As an alternative, the campaign focused in the union as a vehicle capable of giving a voice to workers in their lives at work. UAW took complains of more voice at the workplace as a signal of an inconclusive agenda of civil rights in Mississippi and had effect in a workforce predominantly Afro-American on the shop floor. With this approach, the campaign had support of the local National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) (Evans 2015: 466, my translation³⁸).

³⁸ Original text: "Como alternativa, a campanha focou no sindicato como um veículo capaz de dar voz aos trabalhadores em suas vidas no trabalho. O UAW concebeu as reclamações por mais voz no trabalho como o próximo passo para a inconclusa agenda de direitos civis no Mississippi, o que surtiu efeito para a força de trabalho predominantemente afro-americana da planta. Com esta abordagem, a campanha ganhou o apoio da National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) local". See also Compa (2013) and Greenhouse (2013).

Evans also shows the relevance of these campaigns to the Global South. His example is often Brazil and South Africa. Another current and interesting example is the Department of Foreign Workers at IGMetall (CNM 2010a).

With the end of the World Wars, new social movements, and a globalized economy, show the stable white and heterosexual working man under welfare states and Fordism is indeed a disappearing species. Better put, he might never have existed, only living in biased books authored by heterosexual white man in canonical ethnocentric, Eurocentric, and US-based books and journal articles. So, if it's not possible to assert a change of paradigm from the working class arena of struggle - although there's no doubt this is not the only one -, it's possible to affirm social change from the working class won't happen through the projection of hetero and white male workers.

1.3 Literature review

Leôncio Martins Rodrigues (1999) in "The Destiny of Unionism" (*Destino do Sindicalismo*) declared, almost peremptorily and definitively, that "The set of political, economic, commercial, technological, and cultural of the last decades, sometimes assigned under the term 'globalization' [...] reached hardly the labor unionism" (Rodrigues 1999: 11, my translation)³⁹ and, in the best style "against data there's no argument", shows statistical analysis on shrinking affiliation rates in the United States and Western Europe. One of the chapters is named "The *decrease* of the union power"

³⁹ Original text: "O conjunto de mudanças políticas, econômicas, comerciais, tecnológicas e culturais dos últimos decênios, às vezes designadas pelo controvertido termo 'globalização' [...] atingiu duramente o sindicalismo".

(*O declínio do poder sindical*⁴⁰, my emphasis), as well as factors of de-unionization. The exception would be essentially Nordic.

There's indeed a close link between affiliation density and union capability, mainly in the national level. It's worth mentioning that the author makes the important distinction between unionism as a movement and as an institution, as well as the assumption that there's no general law that correlates union density with strikes and union capability.

It's worth questioning, however, the hypothesis "labor unionism loses strength in the extent that union density diminishes, which is, in the extent that workers abandon the organization" (Rodrigues 1999: 125)⁴¹. This is an axiom, since it is not proven considering the other independent or control variables. First of all, unions can fake their existence (*de gaveta*, *de carimbo* or *de papel*⁴² unions are some examples) and, in these cases, union's capabilities are illegitimate. Secondly, although the author mentions factors of union's weakening due to globalization processes (capital mobility, companies' competitiveness and so on), there's not even a line about other forms of union organization and empowerment, such as international unionism and associations with women's, Black, and student's movements. My research takes seriously the ways that workers organize that fall outside the scope of traditional unions - both the organizations that pop up when unions aren't present and the organizing that surfaces when unions aren't enough: "In response to declining union membership, there is a growing perception that labour will have to develop strategies that complements local

⁴⁰ Original text: "[...] estamos entendendo o poder sindical como a capacidade de as elites sindicais imporem decisões (geralmente na forma de obtenção de reivindicações), vetarem decisões ou – alternativa menos favorável – modificarem decisões que partam do governo, das empresas ou de outras elites. [...] Há, pois, em face do fenômeno das quedas dos coeficientes de filiação sindical, dois pontos interligados: A) o das relações entresindicalização e poder sindical, de modo mais direto, e poder das classes trabalhadoras, de modo mais indireto; B) o das relações entre as taxas de sindicalização e conflito, expresso geralmente, mas não unicamente, em paralisações do trabalho".

⁴¹ Original text: "o sindicalismo perde força à medida em que caem os índices de sindicalização, isto é, à medida em que os trabalhadores abandonam a organização".

⁴² "De papel" unions are a Mexican phenomena. As the name suggests, these are associations that exist only in formal contracts, but no intention on actually representing them. Other names ("de gaveta" ou "de carimbo") are other names for the same phenomena.

organizing and national activism with international campaigns” (Gordon and Turner 2000 qtd. Anner 2007). This is not to say that workers didn’t organize internationally before, Bakunin and Marx and Engels pushed for a more internationalist approach, as did some anarchists and communists. However, understanding contemporary international unionism is key to addressing present global solidarity dilemmas. This new unionism grew out of a globalized world economy and the issues that come with it such as multinational companies, mobility and the search for a cheaper/ precarious workforce, vulnerability of refugees and migrant workers, relative loss of power from Nation-States, power of international organizations, an internationalized hegemonic dominant class, flexible production systems and management systems, regionalization processes, free market agreements, divisions of labor by gender, race, age, nationality, and so on.

The literature on international union networks have many approaches: the networks’ internal and external structures (Gray 2015); the relation among labor unions’ level of militancy, the state, and the supply chains (Anner 2011); Corporate Strategic Campaigns Research (perspectives of different authors at Brofenbrenner 2007; Juravich and Brofenbrenner 1999); the alter-globalization (another globalization) perspective (Sousa Santos 2005; Anner 2007; Webster, Lambert and Bezuidenhout 2008); the importance of education (Croucher and Cotton 2009); different proactive answers from Global Unions (Harrod and O’Brien 2002); and the role of the leadership (Rombaldi 2012).

According to Gray (2015), relevant internal structures of international union networks that measure their success would include cohesion (low or high) and density, frequency, scope and effectiveness of a network’s activities. In order to expand internal cohesion, important actions should include regular meetings, institutionalized organizational structure, free exchange of information, corporate research, regular communication, and solidarity campaigns. External recognition would be one of the most valuable characters of an international union network and important variables would include international social dialogue, International Framework Agreements

(IFAs)⁴³, other international agreements, and Codes of Conduct. Union strategies to reach these structures have five dimensions: research, campaigns, integrative actions, co-management of international regulation, and support in communities. The level of all these variables would result in GUF networks, Consultative networks, Union Side networks, and Consolidated networks (Gray 2015). Although these variables are important, they do not entirely explain why some networks that reach all these prerequisites still do not result in better living and working conditions for workers in any given industry, as workers in the garment industry still face building collapses and risk death on a daily basis. In fact, the fire at Matrix Sweaters, a building in Bangladesh in which workers produced clothing for H&M and JC Penney, demonstrates that even if a network in the garment sector accomplishes all of the structural improvements noted above, the sector will still be more precarious than other sectors that don't.

Anner (2004; 2011) union designs are shaped by the relation among labor union's level of militancy/ideology (combative/cooperative), the state relative attendance to labor demands (unfavorable/less favorable), and the type of supply chains (buyer driven/producer driven). According to the author, labor responses do not necessarily lead to internationalism. When the state doesn't work to improve or maintain labor gains, union organizations forge different strategies based on their ideology/militancy that often include putting pressure on or interrupting supply chain production. Moreover, in the garment sector (buyer driven commodity chains), the radical flank mechanism pops up when union organizations are moderate and international campaigns are more likely to happen when oppositional union organizations enter the battle. In the automobile sector (producer driven commodity chain), micro corporatist pacts emerge when labor organizations are moderate and union networks when not. This explanation provides us useful tools in framing an understanding of workers' strategy on the ground;

⁴³ International Framework Agreements are usually agreed upon Global Union Federations (GUFs) and multinational corporations. In theory they are worldwide agreements supposed to reach all works of the world in a specific multinational company that signed the agreement.

however, the methodology doesn't consider minorities or how state structure effects supply chains, or how these strategies play out as components of radical unions.

Corporate Strategic Campaigns focus primarily on mid- or short-term institutions. Some corporate campaigns have successfully targeted companies even considering the historic power relationship between the Global South and North (Snell 2007), precarious sector, such as the campaigns in the banana industry (Frundt 2007), racism and colonialism (Sukthankar and Kolben 2007), and women (Gunawardana 2007). However, this literature fails to explain structured designs of supply chains based on an intersectional approach, as well as intra-union intersectional politics that could lead to success in international organizing, in part due the focus on mid- or short-term institutionalized solutions. As Brofenbrenner (2007: 222) points out, in her Corporate Strategic Campaigns Research literature "the global labor movement is truly divided within and across countries, sectors, industries, regions and hemispheres". I suggest that within this hemispheric divide, there are more profound divides based on colonialism--national and regional affiliation and residency, gender, race, and age. Additionally, (and not denying the importance of) Corporate Strategic Campaigns Research suggests that to be most viable, we need a stable, amicable workforce, pay experts, engage in expensive research, and simply organize.

Alter-globalization perspectives spread like wildfire after the World Social Forum and the Seattle's WTO protests (Webster, Lambert and Bezuidenhout 2008) that took aim at neoliberalism (Sousa Santos 2005). A new international unionism was born. This new international perspective placed the Global South front and center in the fight against labor exploitation, in no small part due to the growing precarity that neoliberalism demanded from the Southern Hemisphere. The South would be the equivalent of immigrant workers in England during the First International challenging relatively well-established and unionized workers: they might be enemies, but if they are radically politicized, they can be string allies to an organized working class. It's the place in which global whipsawing outflows. Overcoming the North-South divide is the most challenging task for labor internationalism to succeed and would "require the

formation of alliances between the labour movements and social movements around gender, the environment and other social issues” (Webster, Lambert and Bezuidenhout 2007). It would be a way of overcoming *The Paradox of Labor Internationalism* (Anner 2007) through, for instance “coalitions between labour, environmental and social justice interests, as well as alliances with NGOs, women’s movements, consumer organizations and community” (Webster, Lambert and Bezuidenhout 2007: 193), networks of community-based activists and organizations, direct participation (*democracia participativa*), international campaigns and alliances, codes of conduct imposed on transnational corporations, coordinated partnerships between unions from developed and developing nations, Human Rights petitions and etc. (Sousa Santos 2007).

Table 1 – Contrasting “old” and “new” labour internationalism

<i>Old labour internationalism</i>	<i>New labour internationalism</i>
Career bureaucrats	Political generation of committed activists
Hierarchy and large bureaucracy	Network
Centralization	Decentralization
Restricted debate	Open debate
Diplomatic orientation	Mobilization and campaign orientation
Focus on workplace and trade unions only	Focus on coalition building with new social movements and NGOs
Predominantly established, Northern, male, white workers	Predominantly struggling Southern Afro, Asian and Latino workers

Source: Munck, Ronaldo. **Globalization and Labour:** The New 'Great Transformation'. Zed Books, 2002. Webster, Edward; Lambert, Rob; Bezuidenhout, Andries (2008). **Grounding Globalization:** Labour in the Age of Insecurity. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Proposals constructing new labor international strategies centering the South are maybe the most effective efforts to build counter-hegemonic forces combating global power imbalances. The gap in this argument is that categories and concepts of addressing the North and South dilemma seem to focus on the importance of nation-states as opposed to problematizing the nation-state as an intentional colonial (and thus capitalist) project. Although these authors take into account the history of colonialism, racism, sexism, and other variables in their analysis, in their imagination, the most important variable to understanding the working class is to know the country where they work. This proves problematic when we consider colonies *within* countries being analyzed; there is a very real Global South *inside* the Global North, and a Global South *inside* the Global South, as we mentioned immigration flows from Nicaragua to Costa Rica, Bolivia to Brazil, Peru to Chile, as well as within these countries (Veiga and Galhera 2015; Mora and Undurraga 2013; Lee 2010). What if we looked at Black and indigenous workers, undocumented or informal workers, young workers, and working class women through the lens of an exploited labor reserve that resides within a larger exploited working class community? In other words, these workers are theoretically Global South workers no matter where they reside even if they work in the US, France, or Japan. Identity politics crosses borders, and continents. Just as the movement of capital flows from peripheries to core communities without skipping a beat building channels of solidarity based on common experiences should as well

No doubt education within the labor movement (Croucher and Cotton 2009) is part of building a stronger united front. However, it's important to think whether or not educational systems promoted in Global Unions and other international organizations reinforce power imbalances, the status quo, and paternalistic relationships. Additionally, I tend to disagree that "The global unions are the only institutions that can develop the collective experience, articulation, and collaboration between unions in the ways demanded by globalization" (Croucher and Cotton 2009). As Waterman (2005) states, if international organizations want to have a more democratic agenda internationally, they need to be more democratic internally. Furthermore, Global Unions tend to lose power if

they don't agree a common agenda with other actors at all levels. If these unions are not seriously taking the contributions of Black and gender justice organizations and movements into consideration-- , they cannot rightfully present themselves as the sole *loci* of information and thus the answers to any contemporary globalized economy problems.

An analysis of international unionism that focuses on leaders and their cultural capital has been prominent in Brazil(Rombaldi 2012) and, not surprisingly, primarily focuses on the experiences of men in the metallurgical and chemical sectors. Cultural capital, in this case, doesn't consider power imbalances that created a social reality that made it possible for men to hold most leadership positions in international unions.

Proactive work from Global Unions to address these issues (Harrod and O'Brien 2002) admit the working class is divided by social markers of difference but rely heavily on the narrative of union organizations that falls back on the fallacy that "worker" is the most important variable, thus ignoring intersectional identities and further homogenizing the workforce. As a result, the "two IR" (International Relations and Industrial Relations) proposed by the author tend to concentrate only on successful experiences of labor organizing, without reflecting which groups inside their narrow definition of the working class are more or less empowered to organizing. Additionally, the authors argue that the end of the Cold War period brought with it an end to radical labor ideology. But ideology born of racism experienced by colonial experiences, genderism in all societies and so on are also labor ideology (communists, anarchists, cooperationists, feminists, liberationists and so on) and deserve a place in our analysis of global capital. As a matter of fact, contemporary studies regarding the most precarious workers are found in much of widely accepted economic theory.

CHAPTER 2 - FROM INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAT TO GLOBAL GOVERNANCE: THE CURRENT INTERNATIONAL UNIONISM

“Workers of the world, unite!”

This phrase from the *Communist Manifesto* first published in February 1848 maybe a cliché in left-wing spaces today, was a controversial call-out to disenfranchised workers to build power and organize against capital. .

Since 1848, labor organization in the international sphere changed in a variety of ways. Taking activist actors in GSC with a global perspective into consideration one easily can note the inclusion of other social actors, such as NGOs. Plus, international labor struggles are often not bottom-up, but top-down. Labor transnationalism moved “from a proletarian internationalism toward global governance struggles” (McCallum 2013: 20). Central to understanding this issue is the *changing paradigm* of international movements of workers. It seems we have went from a “workers of the world, unite!” paradigm in the XIX century to a “workers and consumer activists of the world” (Anner and Evans 2004), “unite!” paradigm in the XXI century⁴⁴. In other words, we went from a confrontational paradigm, to a dialogical, multistakeholder, tripartite, coalitional, non-dialectical paradigm. Where international movements were once under a “proletarian paradigm”, we have moved to place more confidence in so-

⁴⁴ Regarding the involvement of civil society advocating for workers’ rights in the garment industry promoting ethical consumption, it’s worth mentioning its limits. In Mexico, pressure from the United Students Against Sweatshops over Nike resulted in the payment of US\$ 1,5 million for workers (USAS 2010). These actions are completely well-intentioned, beneficial, and effectively are an important part of the union strategies in the garment industry. Differently from steel, the garment industry is more sensitive to the behavior of the final consumer, so tactics as “name and shame” reaching the intangible capital of brands in the retail sector are worth. However, these tactics have clear limits: in some consumer markets, notably in the low income ones, there are small incentives for consumers spending more money in a product because it is “socially responsible”, even with denounces over the product (Repórter Brasil 2015). Consumers often don’t know or don’t get to know about working, living, and waging conditions of workers in supply chains. The Fair Trade system and “ethical consumption” is a small and expensive market niche (Europe is the largest Inditex market and even though the Fair Trade system is not strong at the company). Wal-Mart, known for its “always low prices” politics – a euphemism for exploitation of labor and natural resources around – grown every year, having annual earnings larger than Norwegian in 2011 (Juliboni 2012), which shows that price is preferable than fair trade for consumers. These examples show the limits of consumption markets either in the Global North and South.

called “governance structure” or “governance struggles” (McCallum 2013: 20) than in the workers themselves

But how did this perspective come into being and what does it mean to participate in contemporary international unionism? A brief history of labor internationalism – although much of what has been written tells the story from the perspective of relatively well established European workers working almost exclusively in the productive sector and free labor – helps us to better understand contemporary configurations of worldwide labor struggles. This history is plagued by conflicting and homogenizing ideals, the dominance of nation-states (over worker unity), protectionism, chauvinism, and other problems that often left out the experiences of the most vulnerable workers.

2.1.1 Early Internationalism, the Internationals, and World and Cold Wars

Early efforts to organize workers in the official European history date back the Industrial Revolution (circa 1760 on) and include a wide range of more or less institutionalized experiences. The Luddite resistance, for instance, “were machine-breakers of the north of England who differed from tool-breakers of the past by giving themselves a mythological name, Nedd Ludd, or Captain Ludd” (Linebaugh 2012: 8) and were active mainly in 1811 and 1812. Although they might be considered naïve for destroying machines and not the economic system, they are also celebrated for taking direct actions to disrupt the means of production by anarchist groups, such as the activists behind anti-authoritarian publisher PM Press⁴⁵. Other important efforts included the birth of the London Trades Council in 1860 which formed under “fragile circumstances [because it] drew together the skilled, relatively privileged working class rather than the broad mass of English workers” (Webster, Lambert and Bezuidenhout 2008: 189). As we see here, early documented organizing experiences ranged from

⁴⁵ An anarchist press. For more information, see: PM Press. *Content*. Available at: <http://www.pmpress.org/content/index.php>. Accessed in December 25th, 2017.

anarchism to reformism, always focusing on European productive space and non-slave labor environment.

It's not unexpected, therefore, that this range of labor struggle perspectives would mark the early beginnings of the first true international organizing efforts, but these efforts planted seeds that bore results years later. The International Workingmen's Association (1864-1876, my emphasis) was a space for dialogue among a variety of early labor organizers: anarchists, collectivists (many of whom were influenced by Bakunin), Marxists, socialists, cooperativists, nationalists, Republicans, and so on. Women would not be allowed to participate until 1865. The debates focused on the best way to self-organize workers were heated and resulted, for instance, in Bakunin's withdraw in 1872, during The Hague Congress, which came to be known as the "Black and Red Divide" with anarchists and Marxists groups taking different sides. As a result, The Anarchist International was formed and met until 1877 then reinvented itself as The International Working People's Association, also known as The Black International, in 1881, lasting until the end of that decade. In 1922, anarcho-syndicalists founded the International Workers' Association in Berlin. The First International, therefore, sparked as a myriad of debates with diverse perspectives – mainly amongst proudhonists, bakunists, and Marxists (Holthoon and Linden 1998) – but was gradually hegemonized (and then violently imposed) by socialist actors.

However, not all labor scholars agree with this framing of the First International's decline: "Olle and Schoeller (1984) argue that the disintegration of the First International was not due primarily to political divisions such as arguments over support for the Paris Commune, but rather to the *national* recognition and consolidation of unions" (Webster, Lambert and Bezuidenhout 2008: 189). There are, still, labor organizing efforts that moved beyond borders, such as the London-based "Democratic Friends of all Nations" (Herod 2001: 129), that joined British Owenities and Chartists, together with refugees from France, Germany, and Poland.

In any case, we see that the Second International (1889-1916) was socialist in nature due to the stampede of influential anarcho-syndicalists during and after the

First International. It also evidenced by the failures and breakdown of the anti-war and anti-militarist perspectives, as well as the stronghold of patriotic hegemony within the socialist movement during the First World War (1914-1918). The International Trade Secretariats (ITS) - international organizations that preceded Global Union Federations (GUFs) -, for instance, “were reduced to correspondence and planning for the postwar period” (Rutters 2001: 14). The move into the postwar period was influenced with new ideologies partially due to the economic crisis: “the ‘Great War’ is often seen as a breaking point for international solidarity. However, when it was over, it was labor’s support for the war [...] that would offer robust protections for workers in the wake of such devastation and tragedy” (McCallum 2013: 21). Therefore, at this time it might be said that the correlation between labor unions and the state through war efforts started to become institutionalized.

The Second International brought interesting results: International Workers’ Day (May Day) was established, as well as International Women’s Day (due to the Triangle Factory fire, in 1911), and the important campaign of 8-hour working day was championed.

It was at this nexus of political upheaval that ITSs emerged (Herod 2011). From a variety of ideologies – “social democratic/ socialist, syndicalist, [...] liberal and Christian” (Rutters 2001: 9), their members and plans of action were heavily European centered (Herod 2001: 130). When World War I (WWI) ended some of the secretariats – the ones with smaller membership and budget – merged to forge federations. Peter Evans (2010) has an interesting say on this issue:

The move to rename the International Trade Secretariats (ITSs), calling them Global Union Federations (GUFs) instead, reflected recognition that it is not so much trade itself as the global production networks that underlie it that must be restructured if workers interests are to be protected (Evans 2010: 361).

It should be noted that the merging of ITSs is a continuum of past organizing efforts. IndustriALL, for instance, is a Global Union that resulted as a merger of three previous Global Unions: “In general, the mergers undermined the original craft or ‘trade’ basis of most secretariats and moved them toward a more industrial-type structure”

(Windmuller 2000: 103). In sum, the birth of the actual Global Unions, although plural in perspective, were limited in geographical scope.

Yet it's worth mentioning that the groundbreaking work of the anarchist Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) in Chicago in 1905 had worldwide implications for what was to come. The Wobblies (as these anarcho-unionists came to be known) envisaged one unique industrial union and, in its first Congress, many of the leading voices in labor rights were present. Eugene Debs, Mother Jones, and Lucy Parsons all participated and networked with other organizers (Kornbluh 1965; Flynn, Smith, Trautmann 2014; Songs IWW 1923). Additionally, the anarchists of the Spanish National Confederation of Work (*Confederación Nacional del Trabajo*, or CNT) were enjoying international attention during its founding in 1910. The CNT was the first successful trade union organization of this type, unfortunately it was violently repressed during General Franco's dictatorship (1939-1975).

This period also saw an upsurge of women leaders coming forward with revolutionary ideals that focused on gender justice, such as the soviet leader Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya (February 14th, 1869 – February 27th 1939), and the anarchist leaders Emma Goldman (June 27th, 1869 – May 14th, 1940) and Lucy Parsons (1853 - March 7th, 1942).

The first attempt to construct a non-sectorial international union organization is widely recognized as to be the International Federation of Trade Unions (IFTU), in 1913. First efforts may date back 1901, during the Scandinavian Labour Congress. Although international in intentions, it was also limited geographically to Europe. The IFTU lasted until around the Russian Revolution (1917), and ended up formally its activities in 1916 (Fimmen 1922). At this time strong socialist ideas were popping up.

The Third International (1919-1943), Communist International, or Comintern, forged right after the First World War and the Russian Revolution of 1917, was strongly influenced by Lenin and marked the end of an institutionalized socialist front. The Third International started after Europe declared war on the Russian Revolution. Of special importance was the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) that split into three

fractions during the IWW. The majority of SPD supported credits to the war, the reformist side (linked to the Marxist Karl Kautsky, October 18th, 1854 – October 17th, 1938) were against this, and the revolutionary side, was linked to Rosa Luxemburg (March 5th, 1871 – January 15th, 1919) and Karl Liebknecht (August 13th, 1871 – January 15th, 1919) and the Spartacus League. At the end of the war, an insurrection was proclaimed and SPD mostly sided the rendition government, who decided to kill Karl and Rosa in name of stability. Even with arguments that the Third International was guided by a partisan dogma (Nash, 1998:1 qtd. Costa 2005: 130), it was more the end of the convergence between the social-democrats and the Bolsheviks (or the bourgeois democracy and the dictatorship of the proletariat). This International was then officially dissolved by Joseph Stalin but it was because of Stalinism that the Fourth International was founded in France, in 1938. It was a not a good time to be a Trotskyist, nor to take a stand against a powerful hegemonic state to advocate for permanent or mass revolution: repression came not only from Stalinism, but also from capitalist countries and even Maoists. As a result, Trotsky was murdered during the Second World War.

Concomitantly to the Third International, in 1919, in the context of The League of the Nations, the International Labour Office was inaugurated. ILO's perspective birthed through alliances with social-democratic leaning actors and Gompers' wing⁴⁶ of the American Federation of Labor (AFL) (Carew, Dreyfus, Van Goethem, Gumbrell-McCormick, and Van der Linden 2000 qtd. McCallum 2013: 21), have been guiding international union efforts under the framework of social dialogue, tripartism, and international labor standards. These assumptions are reflected, for instance, in the *modus operandi* of the old ITSS/ actual Global Unions (Rutters 2001: 13), and "parallel developments at national levels" in countries at the center of the system during the 1920s and 1930s (Gordon and Turner 2000: 103). It's worth

⁴⁶ Samuel Gompers (1850-1924) was the founder, first, and longest AFL president (until his death), later. Trough time, AFL undermined the combative Knights of Labor and inaugurated what their wing name "free unionism". Gompers inaugurated what the so-called "business unionism". As AFL head, Gompers supported both Democrats and Republicans and supported war efforts (for instance, through Cuba, although AFL had networks with the Cuban cigar workers). Most important for the argument above was Gompers' narrative to class harmonization.

mentioning that the ILO system has mediated international labor governance since then. An ILO labor standard, for example:

institutionalizes the idea of social partnership between the state, capital and labour. It sets certain minimum labour standards, codified in conventions. [...] These conventions set a basis for a universalized language of rights to counter the commodification of labour. A key problem, however, is the lack of enforceability of these core standards. The legitimacy of these core standards is also undermined by the fact that countries as the USA refuse to ratify these conventions, and more recently Australia and South Korea have blatantly ignored these principles in their labor law reforms (Webster, Lambert and Bezuidenhout 2008: 194).

During the Second World War, therefore, the ILO's hegemonic perspective over labor unions outlined how workers were to address issues, although some unions were still in embryonic stages of development and limited geographically due to communication and mobilization technologies. Other institutional practices, such as the engagement of labor unions in pro-war efforts, were also maintained. This is not to say that these unions were necessarily conservative: the origins of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) was one of communist orientation but changed after the inter-state alliance (the Allies) that vanquished the fascist alliance (the Axis) during the Second World War (Waterman 2002). Regarding the ITSs, "the outbreak of World War II in 1939 forced most ITSs to suspend their work, though not necessarily their existence" (Gordon and Turner 2000: 104). Other changes were related to "the decline and ultimately the destruction of important affiliates in countries under dictatorship rule or foreign occupation" (Gordon and Turner 2000: 104). In sum, although the outbreak of the World War II (WWII) affected the material conditions of labor and thus international labor organization's practices and norms were becoming increasingly fixed in tripartite relations, social dialogue, and international labor standards. The supremacy of the social-democrat European model of labor and employment relations over a dialectic or direct action perspective of Internationals was becoming increasingly hegemonic.

2.1.2 Cold War and “free” unionism

The birth of the Communist World Federation of Trade Unions dates back to 1945, “after a rift began over the US-backed Marshal Plan” (Carew, Dreyfus, Van Goethem, Gumbrell-McCormick, and Van der Linden 2000 qtd. McCallum 2013: 21). Over the following years, the ideological and material conflicts of the Cold War intensified and spilled over into the Internationals. The ITSs held strong to Social Democratic/Socialist ideals, mainly from the functionaries, were confronted with WFTU’s policies that denied them autonomy and influence. In 1948, WFTU-ITS failure in negotiating led to the creation of small trade secretariats (i.e. the Tobacco Workers International, the Hotel and Restaurant Employees’ Union, and the International Union of Shoe and Leather Workers). Lack of negotiations also exacerbated prejudice in organizing central and Eastern Europe, and the Third World (Rutters 2001: 14). As we see the rifts, disagreements, and political differences that led to the fragmentation of international labor unionism under the Cold War were not a coincidence but were a direct result of the geopolitical climate the Cold War produced.

In 1949, the emergence of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) – known as the International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC) – was also a side effect of the Cold War. It’s worth mentioning that “free” unionism was a euphemism for “global business unionism” (Hodkinson 2005: 59 qtd. Webster 195). As a matter of fact, the ICFTU’s international campaign for the promotion of five core labour standards lead dissidents the foundation of the Christian World Confederation of Labour. Nowadays, the organization lays out in “new symbolic orientation to alliance-building and membership mobilization [as] a largely strategic manoeuvre to cope its weakened status within both the international corridors of power and the radical contours of the global justice movements’ (Hodkinson 2005: 36; see also Jakobsen 2001, both qtd. in Webster, Lambert and Bezuidenhout 2008: 196). Therefore, international labor organizations under the Cold War climate took up opposing sides of conflict that reverberate contemporarily: “international trade union movement lined up

behind their respective country interests to take sides for the ‘democratic’ West or the ‘communist’ East” (McCallum 2013: 22).

All these organizations, international in scope, remain in existence in today’s international unionism. As we shall see, in terms of international labor organizations, these as well as the Global Unions are more like corporatist labor associations. Waterman (1998 and 2002) argues that, independently of ideology, WFTU, ICFTU-ITUC and the WCL share some common characteristics:

detachment between leaders and the rank and file, requiem from Cold War ideologies, tendency to the reproduction of the Nation-state and international agencies logic, dependency of the “North” unionism; inspiration of North-American and European ideologies from the XIX and the first half of the XX centuries (i.e. social democracy, Communism, business unionism, social Christianity, reduction of the complex reality of the world working population to the model of the male and unionized worker, and etc. (Waterman, 1998:112-113; 2002:34-40, my translation)⁴⁷

The organization of the U.S. labor movement during the Cold War fell victim to the involvement of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). For instance, Jay Lovestone, leader of the US Communist Party, became a CIA agent.

For some organizations and leaders, the new “free” unionism was not free enough. In the U.S., from 1955 on, after the merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations (resulting in the AFL-CIO), the North-American labor movement became more aggressive in its defense of “free trade unionism”. The American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) became closely aligned with Kennedy’s Alliance for Progress⁴⁸ and “dedicated itself to the task of

⁴⁷ Original text: “distanciamento entre lideranças e bases sindicais; persistência das influências decorrentes do contexto de Guerra Fria; tendência para a reprodução da estrutura e comportamento do Estado-nação e das agências inter-estatais; demasiado dependência dos princípios de um sindicalismo sediado no “Norte”; inspiração nas estratégias e ideologias europeias e norte-americanas vindas do século XIX e da primeira metade do século XX, i. e., social democracia, comunismo, sindicalismo de negócios e cristianismo social; redução da complexa realidade da população trabalhadora mundial ao modelo do trabalhador sindicalizado e masculino; etc.”.

⁴⁸ John F. Kennedy’s paternalistic speeches in favor of the Alliance for Progress were narrative recurrences for justifying political alliance with Latin American countries to actually “preventing and resisting subversive insurgency” (National Security Action Memorandum no. 124 1962). Latin America has been, in fact, so unimportant for the US that at that time, under a government often considered progressive, that the ambassador Lincoln Gordon articulated the US support for the *coup d’état* over the

suppressing radical leftist forces within the international trade unions” (Sim 1999: 56 apud McCallum 2013: 22) in Latin America, and other regions, such as Asia, that “created further divisions [in the labor movement] that shape today’s labour map” (Webster, Lambert and Bezuidenhout 2008: 190). At this time, the Internationals started to increase in importance with the increased flow of capital transnationalism. During the Cold War, US interventions greatly influenced the configurations of the world labor movement and fostered a growth in business unionism.

During this period, another prominent figure was establishing known practices and norms of international unionism. Charles Levinson, head of the International Federation of Chemical, Energy, Mine and General Workers' Unions (ICEM) is considered the “progenitor of the governance struggle” (McCallum 2013: 23). His way of unionizing is considered “Eurocentric, drawn from a vision of the evolution of industrial democracy and its extension to the international sphere” (Lambert and Webster 2006: 282).

Also in 1955, countries from Asia, Africa, and the Middle East met at Bandung, Indonesia (Encyclopædia Britannica 2016) to discuss a new Southern agenda to combat the hegemonic East-West divide. These newly-independent countries discussed colonialism, non-alignment, their proximity to power players in the global economy, recognition of *all* nations (large or small), reinforcing principles in the United Nations’ charter, and how to achieve economic and political independence from industrial nations (Jayaprakash 2005). This anti-colonialist meeting during the Cold War could of course not escape the hegemons: the U.S. kept a watchful eye on its aftermath and tried to respond to its leaders by creating working groups. Afraid of a possible rise in Chinese regional power, the Conference legitimized UN’s principles, based on western values (Parker 2006). So although the Bandung Conference was invested in an anti-colonial perspective – launching important efforts to combat the Western powers

democratically elected president Joao Goulart (“Jango”) in 1964. Kennedy sent the US Navy to the Brazilian coast and recognized the military government one day after the *coup*. Jango was still in the country. It’s hard to imagine something worse from a “conservative” government, as Nixon’s, could do.

such as the Non-Aligned Movement and furthered an analysis of the North-South Divide— it still fell into the trap of relying on powerful hegemonic institutions.

The end of the Cold War brought new struggles and opportunities to the global labor movement and, with it, new ways to connect workers to the plethora of ways to build alliances, for instance, many in newly independent countries were involved in the effort to build democratic processes. One of the most successful campaigns was linked to the fight against apartheid in South Africa, in which Trumka's United Mine Workers of Africa built a coalition with National Union of Mineworkers of South Africa to pressure Royal Dutch/ Shell to boycott the nation for its treatment of Black South Africans. It's "perhaps the most effective example of cross-border solidarity of labor and its allies in history" (Bronfenbrenner 2007) that "rekindled the 1st International" (Munck 2002 qtd. McCallum 2013: 24).

By the 1989 fall of the Berlin Wall formally ending the Cold War, the international labor movement had experienced nationalism, capitalism, communism, anarchism, anti-communism, Fascism, Nazism, Stalinism, business unionism, Catholicism, and dictatorships. At this time, three of these ideologies came to be the most prominent theoretical camps for labor internationalism – Communism, business unionism, and (mainly) social democracy – and all of them were prevalent (and hegemonic) within the international labor scene. The deepening of capitalist apparatuses would redesign a little further the manners in which international labor struggles would be institutionalized.

2.1.3 Global Governance Struggles

"Whose streets? Our streets!"

100,000 people flooded the streets of downtown Seattle chanting during the World Trade Organization (WTO) Ministerial Conference in 1999. People expressed collective discontent at a world that was increasingly slipping out of their hands and into

the laps of corporations. With their chant they were even were staking a claim to one of the most highly regulated commodities - the streets. Whose streets? These streets belong to the people, even if just for the day. A group of collectives from diverse backgrounds – trade unionists, ecologists, students, anarchists, progressive religious theologians, consumer activists, etc. – banded together to protest against what they considered an attack on human rights, environmental conditions, public policies, food industry, and labor standards. Hundreds were jailed, others were brutalized by police as cops shot protesters with tear gas and rubber bullets (Democracy Now 2009). In the end, these protesters successfully prevented WTO delegates from attending the meeting. The “Battle for Seattle”, as it became known, showed to the union movement that a perspective solely based on class was losing importance in an interdependent and interconnected globalized economy - these protesters had a multi-issue platform and many organized around their identities, as there were as many anarcho-feminist groups as immigrant groups (presumably concerned with the WTO’s support of NAFTA, etc.)

The Industrial Workers of the World’s slogan, “An injury to one is an injury to all,” still rings true today. The proposal of a “counterhegemonic globalization from below” (Webster, Lambert and Bezuidenhout 2008; Waterman 1999) indicated that protests should start considering anti-colonial issues and identity-based movements (Waterman 2001), as well as innovative forms of organizing and protesting, such as the Independent Media Center⁴⁹ to counter hegemonic narratives aligned with big business perspectives. The history of international labor movements may have started in the Global North but spread to other *loci* in the Global South. The institutionalization of the spirit born out of the Seattle Battle in the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, Brazil, in 2001, is an example.

Waterman’s *Trade Union Internationalism in the Age of Seattle* (2002) captures the moment quite well. For Waterman, the “new” labor movement would have

⁴⁹Independent Media Center. Available at: <https://www.indymedia.org/or/index.shtml>. Accessed in September 7th, 2016.

a disclose relation with other non-unionized groups, as democratic movements or those non- or multi-classist, close relation with potential allies, make their general social causes in society, promote democracy and education at the workplace, change from the international relations area to face-to-face relationships, quit the pyramidal and promote a dynamic, decentralized, horizontal, democratic and flexible model, end up paternalistic and promote solidarity models; change intentions to political actions, creative work, visits or direct financial contributions; look for international solidarity in base of daily needs of standard people; recognize that although work is not herald of internationalism, it is essential to struggle with other democratic movements; should overcome ideological, political, and financial dependency; the discourse should be public, friendly, and constructive; there's not a place or exclusive level for the international battle; the development of a new internationalism requires the contribution of workers from other regions. In proposing a *coalitional* perspective, Waterman proposes an estrangement of the old hierarchical and bureaucratic perspective from the institutions developed during the Cold War to a more refreshed and less institutionalized perspective.

Whether or not Waterman's perspective was applied remains to be seen. For Evans (2010), "The question is whether the neoliberal era is expanding the scope of transnationalism to unions whose structural position and ideological propensities have led them to be nationalist in the past" (366). The post-Seattle approach didn't change hegemonic international institutions much— notably the WFTU, ICFTU, WCL, and ITSS-Global Unions. At the same time, it did refresh and promote new forms of struggles, such as cooperation between unions and NGOs (Anner and Evans 2004), anti-sweatshop movements, alliances with students' movements, environmentalists, etc. Of fundamental importance for any of these institutions were the networks of knowledge, communication, and control provided by new technologies, such as the internet and new softwares and hardwares. In other words, the new and non-hierarchical or bureaucratic ways of organizing were not born in old institutions/ international

organizations, but in new forms of struggle involving new non-exclusively classicists, such as students and NGO activists.

The Seattle Battle and new institutionalizations derived therein as well as from other political spaces such as the World Social Forum were inserted in a context in which actors advocated for rules, not rights (McCallum 2013: 28). In this context, global governance structures kept reigning supreme and many militants were pacified. Instead of critiquing how institutionalization governs and policies radical activists, the labor movements became a new form of governance over dissent. As definition,

Governance in its simplest sense refers to the art of governing, to ensuring that it is morally defensible and efficient. It does not imply that there should be only one institution, but rather, in the present context, refers to a set of interlocking but separate bodies which share a common purpose. Thus it covers the activities of states, but also those of inter-governmental organizations, most notably the UN, and the role of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and transnational movements: all of these combine, not least through influencing each other, to produce the system of global governance. The argument is not whether such a system is desirable or not: we already have a many-layered global governance system, and indeed one of the central issues is to overcome, through reform, the defaults of a system that has been up and running for several decades. The question is how to make this governance system more effective, more just, and more responsive to the changing international situation (Halliday 2002: 489).

Governance systems include involvement of the government, business, and social partners⁵⁰.

⁵⁰ According to ILO, governments should “Strengthen labour administration and labour inspection systems in order to ensure full compliance with laws and regulations and access to appropriate and effective remedy and complaints mechanisms”; “Actively promote social dialogue and fundamental principles and rights at work”; “Use public procurement to promote fundamental principles and rights at work”; “require enterprises owned or controlled by the State to implement due diligence procedures and to promote decent work in all their operations in their supply chains”; “Create an enabling environment to help enterprises strengthen their contribution to sustainability and decent work throughout their business operations”; “Stimulate transparency and encourage, and, where appropriate, require, by various means, that enterprises report on due diligence within their supply chains to communicate how they address their human rights impacts”; “Fight corruption, including by protection of whistle-blowers”; “Consider to include fundamental principles and rights at work in trade agreements”; “Set out clearly the expectation that all business enterprises domiciled in their territory and/ or jurisdiction respect human rights throughout their operations, and the fundamental principles and rights at work for all workers”; “Implement measures to improve working conditions for all workers”; “Target specific measures at small and medium-sized enterprises”; “provide guidance and support to employers and businesses to take effective measures to identify, prevent, mitigate and account for how they address the risks of forced or compulsory labour”; “Implement policies to facilitate the transition from the informal to the formal economy”; “Cooperate

One of the slogans for contemporary labor internationalism is the “governance without government” (Rosenau and Czempiel 1992), or the idea that there’s a plethora of binding and non-binding norms, values, and prerogatives of the agents that govern the international arena – this has been referred to as “soft law” (Abbott and Snidal 2000). At the same time, these configurations effect labor strategy (Anner 2011) and create opportunities (Kay 2005), they insert the union movement with a condition of lack of hard law: “Drawing their strength from symbolic power, codes of conduct are re-emerging as responses to these pressures” (Sable, O’Rourke and Fung qtd. Webster, Lambert and Bezuidenhout 2008: 192). The Nation-state is still the actor per excellence to guarantee legitimacy to governance structures, for instance, via (voluntary) ratification and compliance of ILO’s labor standards (Scherrer 2007).

While national networks can count on binding legislations to increase their power and thus enforcement, international unionism operates within the limits of so-called international lack of enforcement laws⁵¹. National networks operate in clear institutionalized ways - through rules, laws, norms, and procedures that guarantees a security through “rules of the game” regarding labor regulation, including the state (that might either constrain or push forward actions of multinationals). International unions, by

through regional bodies to harmonize laws and practices and/or improve policy coherence among countries”; “jointly promote [with social partners] decent work and fundamental principles and rights at work for all workers”; “carry out human rights due diligence”; “practical guidance to implement due diligence into operational management systems and build capacity thereon”; “[provision of] information and support to workers”; [stimulation of] multi-stakeholder initiatives” (ILO 2016: 4-6).

Explicit objectives of the ILO include: “Promote the ratification and implementation of the ILO standards”; “Strengthen capacity building and provide technical assistance to member States on labour administration and inspection systems”; “Promote effective national and cross-border social dialogue, thereby respecting the autonomy of the social partners”; “Assess the impact and scalability of, and where necessary, adapt and scale up development cooperation programmes”; “Provide leadership and use the ILO’s convening power and unique added value to drive policy coherence among all multilateral initiatives and processes related to decent work in global supply chains”; “Strengthen its capacity to give guidance to enterprises on the application of labour standards”; “Consider adopting an action plan to promote decent work and protection of fundamental principles and rights at work for workers in EPZs”; “Take a proactive role in generating and making accessible reliable data on decent work in global supply chains”; “Carry out further research and analysis to better understand how supply chains work in practice”.

⁵¹Also known as international anarchy. International anarchy is understood, in International Relations, as the fact that in the international arena there’s no supranational legitimate actor to enforce rights based on, for instance, coercion; in the international arena, there’s no state as the source of legitimate physical force.

their turn, operate in a more uncertain terrain, in which self-organization, quality of information, solidarity, strategies and tactics shape contemporary labor struggles. The blueprint of global governance provided by institutions such as ILO, OECD, social clauses in commercial agreements and so on are some of the elements that support international networks with some institutional legal security. In the “governance without government” arena, without national labor legislations, companies have less accountability incentives compared to regulations enforced through Nation-States. This means that international labor regimes have a low impact that makes more sense than reference to global governance. In the international arena, therefore, workers and labor organizations have less bargaining power, less power capability, and more power imbalances than national ones, besides the problem of turning the international movement dependent on a specific set of workers (Bacharach and Lawler 1981), allowing companies to formally and unilaterally break with established relationships (Walton et al., 2000).

2.1.3.1 Contemporary Global Governance

Contemporarily, global labor governance efforts in the field of labor include a large variety of attempts to enforce labor standards, such as ILO’s standard setting activities, codes of conduct, social clauses, labor standards, Global Framework Agreements, labor clauses in bi- or multilateral agreements, joint codes of conduct, credit conditionality, donor support, consumer labels, socially responsible investment, international labor courts of appeal, European Workers’ Council, regional attempts to transnationalize labour regulation (North-American Free Trade Organization, European Union, *Mercado Comum do Cone Sul*), and unilateral trade legislation (Roozendaal 2002). There are, still, new institutions of struggle, such as transnational campaigns (Ambuster 2005 qtd. Anner 2011), and the boomerang effect: “When a government violates or refuses to recognize rights, individuals and domestic groups often have no

recourse within domestic political or judicial arenas [and] NGOs bypass their state and directly search out international allies to try to bring pressure on their states from outside” (Keck and Sikkink 1998: 7). All of them are efforts “to bring orderly and reliable responses to social and political issues that go beyond the capacity of the state to address [it] individually” (Gordenker and Weiss 1995: 357 qtd. Roozendaal 2002: 15), “to prevent a ‘race to the bottom’” (Webster, Lambert and Bezuidenhout 2008: 192), “to stimulate countries to observe a set of minimum, or core, labor standards” (Roozendaal 2002: 1), “to protect fair competition... [through promotion of] certain minimum rights imposed by international economic regulation” (Servais 2000: 58), to promote a “moral case” (Schmidt 2007: 17) or “to covert protectionism” (Bhagwati, 2002 qtd. Piore 2004: 249), and so on.

It’s problematic, however, to institute soft law through a dialogue between capital and labor at the international level. This is not to say that global governance structures should be absolutely denied. As Peter Evans (2008) points out, “Eviscerating global governance institutions further will not solve the imbalance of power between public institutions and private elites” (283). At the same time, the weakness of global governance needs to improve mechanisms of enforcement. For instance, if some national states are less powerful than others, some nations have less power to hold capitalists accountable under Bretton Wood (and derived) institutions. One example is the short lived social clause campaign by the ICFTU, which ended in 2002 (Webster, Lambert and Bezuidenhout 2008). In its official document, *Building Workers’ Human Rights into the Global Trade System* (1999), for ICFTU:

The campaign for a workers’ rights clause is probably the most wide ranging in the history of the trade union movement. It is a campaign that goes a long way beyond the confines of that movement. It touches every aspect of the global economy at every level.

In this campaign, the trade unions are asking governments and corporations whether the global economy as it stands now really represents the kind of a world they want to create; or whether they have the courage to face a different vision; and whether they have the courage to face the facts about the global economy, rather than the fantasies; to look behind the sound-bites and the buzz words at the reality of globalization (ICFTU 1999: 77).

The debate around social clause in ICFTU has a long history that included at its end the rejection of these standards by developing countries based on the argument that it would block their access to the international labor market. The U.S., together with France, started lobbying for a social clause on the WTO in 1986. Although it was rejected by the executive council, the SC had the backing of the European Parliament. In 1990, the U.S. was being supported by the European Union, Nordic countries, Switzerland, Canada, New Zealand, East European countries, and Japan. In 1994, at the Marrakesh meeting, the social clause was strategically inserted into the Preparatory Committee to ensure transition from Gatt. The Singapore meeting, in 1996, was the highpoint of these contradictions at the WTO. Although US pressures to insert a social clause in the institution increased, developing countries plus the UK and Germany increased the pressures against the clause, while Argentina and others fomented further discussions. At the end this technical-bureaucratic quarrel, the SC dialogue was promoted, mainly by Malaysia and India, arguing the subject was not in the agenda anymore, against the US and France arguing that it was. The social clause was also explored during the Geneva and Seattle meeting, in 1998 and 1999 respectively. ICFTU/ ITUC, during this time, promoted a social clause despite disagreements with its affiliates: although the institutions argued that the social clause was supported by developing countries, actually contradictory opinions existed among affiliates. Barriers of access to international organizations and differences in power among unions and diversity in national interest representation were the issues not addressed during the social clause rounds of discussion (Roozendaal 2002: 23-4). ICFTU's incapability to deal with labor organization's competing interests on the social clause issue led the organization to review its perspective.

ITUC/ ex-ICFTU also has regional arms. In the Americas, one of these arms is the Trade Union Confederation of Americas (TUCA). ITUC's actual president – that occupies a more symbolic chair – is the Brazilian João Antonio Felício, former secretary of International Relations at CUT. The general secretary is Australian Sharan Burrow, the first woman to hold this position. ITUC had an important role in implementing the

social clause⁵² at OECD⁵³, recognizing it as effective and important. Additionally, “[TUCA] works closely with the International Labour Organization and with several other UN Specialized Agencies” (ITUC 2015). Additionally, as a result of the soviet bloc and still existing communist profile, there’s the World Federation of Trade Unions / *Federação Sindical Mundial* (WFTU/ FSM), that still has influence in some countries such as Peru. There, the most important and biggest central union – *Confederación General de Trabajadores de Perú* (CGTP) – is affiliated with FSM (TUCA considers CGTP a partner, since the organization is not formally affiliated). Finally, there’s the World Confederation of Labour (WCL), formerly known as the Christian Union Confederation, “a kind of third wave between WFTU and ITUC”⁵⁴ (Santos 2005: 27, my translation). There are, still, union organizations such as the AFL--CIO, a self-declared international but in practice AFL-CLIO only represents workers on a national level. The “international”, in this case, refers to international to cooperation, campaigning, funding, and periodic studies outside the country.

At the regional level there are, for instance, ITUC organisations like the Asia-Pacific Regional Organisation (ITUC-AP), the African Regional Organisation (ITUC-AF) and the American Regional Organisation (TUCA). Each organization partaking in regional lobbies to enact political pressure. TUCA, for instance, attends events at the

⁵²According to Roozendaal (2002: 1): “whether a regime can be designed to stimulate countries to observe a set of minimum, or core, labor standards. One way to achieve this is to allow member states of the WTO to apply sanctions to those countries that do not comply with these standards. Such a system is called a social clause”.

⁵³ At OECD a country can participate as an observer (as Brazil), being part of a committee, paying annuity, and in case of willing to participate in the investment committee, should sign the “OECD Guidelines for Multinational Companies”, as well as to open a National Point of Contact, which “is usually an employer of the federal government named by the country that joined the Declaration responsible to promote the guidelines in the national context and to guarantee that they are known by employers, labor organizations, non-governmental organizations, and other stakeholders” (Brazil 2012, my translation) to – disclose, monitor, and receive denounces. When a country is a full member, in case of not having ratified in the national Congress ILO’s Conventions required by OECD, must ratify them. This was the Chilean case in 2011. The Brazilian status and, consequently, the national Point, has positive outcomes to the Brazilian unionism. The National Confederation of Workers in the Commerce and Services (*Confederação Nacional dos Trabalhadores no Comércio e Serviços* – CONTRACS), for instance, when started negotiating with C&A had to denounce the company at the National Point. Today this is the company that contributes mostly with the organization.

⁵⁴ Original text: “uma espécie de Terceira via, situada entre a FSM e a CIOSL”.

Organization of American States (OAS), and regional offices at IndustriALL in Uruguay, AFL-CIO in Brazil, or SASK in Panama. During their regional work, new union organizations are formed, sometimes proactively, sometimes a little late and with little power at the bargaining table: at the European Union (UE) the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC) (Costa and Araújo 2004) and at the *Mercado Comum do Cone Sul* (MERCOSUL) delegations of union representation by national central unions (called *grupos de trabalho/ trabalho*, or working groups) (Vigevani 1998).

Another instrument of governance is the Code of Conduct. Codes of Conduct are usually a voluntary agreements with non-binding rules signed by the company, often involving third parties to evaluate and monitor (NGOs, stakeholders, and auditing companies as PricewaterhouseCoopers and Ernst and Young) (Ambruster-Sandoval 2005: 11). Widely codes of conduct include the OECD's Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises, the ILO's Tripartite Declaration of Principles Concerning Multinational Enterprises and Social Policy, "Nationally developed codes of conduct" (Roozendaal 2002: 11), as well as the Sullivan Principles for U.S. businesses working in South Africa, the MacBride Principles for U.S. corporations doing business in Northern Ireland and the Maquiladora Standards of Conduct.

Although some argue that these are a "way of trying to upgrade labour standards and rights" (Roozendaal 2002: 11), challenges include "limited methodology" (Ambruster-Sandoval 2005: 11)⁵⁵ and the possibility companies will get out of the game or even refuse to play all together In 2016, for instance, the United Students Against Sweatshops (USAS) pressured the presidents of several university campuses to sign an accord with the Workers' Rights Consortium (WRC), instead of Fair Labor Association (FLA), targeting licensed Nike products used for college sports. WRC has more rigid

⁵⁵ "Companies that have established codes of conduct typically request that their overseas, as well as domestic, contractors sign and follow its policies. They usually hire private accounting firms like PricewaterhouseCoopers, Ernst and Young, or Cal Safety Compliance Corporation to conduct periodic inspections to determine whether or not the code has been properly implemented. These examinations often last one or two days. Supervisors are often warned beforehand. Investigators speak with workers inside the factory (making candid conversations nearly impossible). Based on this limited methodology, most companies, not surprisingly, receive a "clean bill of health" from their private monitors, telling them that no code violations exist" (Ambruster-Sandoval 2005: 11).

mechanisms of compliance (independent monitoring, impersonal third parts and less influence of companies, i.e. payment) to effectively pressure notorious sweatshop villian Nike, than FLA. The campaign lost ground due to bureaucratic and technical problems, for instance, in USAS' Chapter 123 (fieldwork 2015-2016). In sum, although there's a high level of utility in Codes of Conduct, stakeholders' involvement (auditors, NGOs, students' movement, consumer activists, international organizations) in institutionalizing them, they are non-binding voluntary accords in which the weaker actor of the chain (workers) is only positively affected if the accord is recognized.

There are, still, International or Global Framework Agreements (IFAs/GFAs) used as governance instruments. These are usually signed between representatives of Global Unions and management of multinational corporations (Stavis and Boswell 2007: 175). IFAs multiplied since the 90's and are important tools for negotiation, social dialogue, and – although with limitations pointed out below – establishment of workers' rights by company (Müller, Platzer and Rüb 2010: 9). Historically, the agreements are strongly top down: negotiated in the summits that are expected to reach the rank and file. Recently, the methodology in creating IFAs have included attempts to involve workers and other union organizations, mainly to promote a sense of ownership and belonging of workers in supply chains: “new agreements should be pursued in a democratic and transparent process, with timely information and consultation of affiliates with membership in the company concerned. This helps create ownership of the agreements among our unions” (IndustriALL 2012).

This kind of contractual design supports the strength of the union movement considering that subsidiaries usually respect decisions made in official headquarters (Lopes 2012) and in supply chains in which power imbalances among stakeholders are not so strong (Anner 2012). Simply stated, the more workers are organized and aware of IFAs, the more likely to compliance with agreements is enforced. Additionally, considering that the agreements are based on ILO's Conventions and the UN's Global Pact, they don't fundamentally affect labor regulations in countries with advanced labor legislation. An exception could be when workers in a given company in countries in

which labor legislations are weaker than the IFAs *if* workers and labor organizations are strong, well organized, and aware of the agreement.

It could be argued that IFAs provide stability to jobs in the Global North by attempting to ensure equal labor standards in a supply chain. IFAs would serve, thus, for protectionist purposes and would prevent workers in the Global South access to employment opportunities. This fallacy is easily deconstructed if we consider that access to precarious jobs is better for management, not for the working class. The main problem with IFAs, thus, is not whether or not they prevent the migration of well-paid and stable job positions to more precarious ones – the whipsawing – but whether or not conditions are created, by labor organizations, to empower workers to fight for better living and working conditions using IFAs as relevant tools. There are IFAs that might reach, for instance, outsourced workers, as well as workers in suppliers of the company signing the agreement. For these reasons, workshops teaching and promoting IFAs are important tools to ensure effective agreements worthy of a healthy union movement.

IFAs are sometimes considered the last step of a union network (Gray 2015). However, it's hard to make them meaningful in highly outsourced, fragmented, and informal supply chains, not because the extension of rights is not provided in IFAs, but because workers are not aware of them or are constrained by material, legal, and even psychological capacity. In Sao Paulo's garment sector, for instance, it's hard to teach precarious and outsourced workers of each illegal sweatshop, in each (usually inner-city) neighborhood, the enforcement of rights provided by the agreements. Further, it's hard to convince these workers to cooperate even with the main governmental organizations that promote national labor law enforcement in the sector, because they are frequently afraid of public authorities (Veiga and Galhera 2014).

Labor unionists and researchers in the field highlight, among the elements that distinguish IFAs from codes of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR), the relevance of IFAs for involving stakeholders in their development and compliance (Fairbrother and Hammer 2005: 405; Stevis and Boswell 2007: 178--80). According to Fairbrother and Hammer (2005: 405), the agreements are the result of GUFs' increased

popularity since the 1970's. They would be an evolution of CSR to social clause campaigns, and finally private agreements. Questions remain, however, about the organization, implementation, and operation of these agreements, such as levels of signing and monitoring in the labor movement, overlapping constituencies inside Global Unions, and the relationship between core and periphery, since agreements are signed in the Global North, but multinationals' operations are usually carried out in the Global South (Fairbrother and Hammer 2005: 405). In fact, most IFAs are signed by Western European companies (Galhera 2012) and quick review of the updated list of IFAs reaffirms this issue (Global Unions 2016).

In sum, both codes of conduct and IFAs have limited reach due to a variety of reasons linked to institutional structure in the governance arena. One issue is related to auditing. In a supply chain that employs more than one million workers and approximately 300 auditors (as Inditex), the disparity in numbers is strong evidence of a gap between workforce and inspecting capability (it's about one private auditor for about 3,333 workers). Additionally, as mentioned in the Sao Paulo case, workers allocated to small illegal workshops (for the garment sector) don't want to be found and, when found, do not cooperate with stakeholders that advocate for them (Veiga and Galhera 2014). Croucher and Cotton (2009) argue, in addition, that clauses for outsourced workers are "soft"(er), because they usually predict the information or encouragement of clauses for third parties, with no effective sanction. As consequence, the compliance of private agreements is constrained by the sectors' materiality. For an agreement to be strong, local actors should be organized (Croucher and Cotton 2009: 66; Lopes [2005?]: 20; Stevis and Boswell 2007: 185; Stirling [2010?]: 6; IMF 2006: 12), although as private agreements both codes of conduct and IFAs have the advantage of not carrying mandatory bureaucratic issues, as ratification in Congresses required by i.e. ILO's Conventions. As one IndustriALL secretary poses, the world of global labor relations is not really regulated yet, instead it depends on the correlations of forces or global tribunes (Lopes 2013). Stevis and Boswell (2007: 175) call this phenomenon the "europeization" of labor relations, in part due to the tradition of "social dialogue" in that

area (Gill 2006: 81) but other institutionalizations are not much more helpful: U.S. labor unions are more invested in global campaigns (Stavis and Boswell 2007: 188). Labor struggles under global governance institutions are, thus, much more related to softer mechanisms of law, pressure, and constraints than national laws or direct confrontation or action found elsewhere in early international union efforts.

Contemporarily levels of “worker internationalism” (*internacionalismo operário*), as named by Boaventura de Sousa Santos, (2005) can occur at the company, industry, regional, and global level. On the worldwide level, as mentioned, ITUC and the WFTU are the main organizations.

Also and as mentioned, the ILO is the most legitimized and the main authority in international unionism. ILO’s main Conventions and Recommendations are C. 29 on Forced Labor, C. 87 on Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organize, C. 98 on The Application of the Principles of the Right to Organize and to Bargain Collectively, C. 100 on Equal Remuneration, C. 105 on Abolition of Forced Labor, C. 111 on Discrimination, C. 138 on Minimum Age, and C. 182 on Worst Forms of Child Labor.

There are, still, other instruments that might be useful to the networks and for the Global Unions, such as the UN’s Global Compact (that offers standards of social corporate “best practices” and is voluntary), the Corporate Social Responsibility and codes of conduct (that bring differing results for workers, mainly connected to the presence and involvement of monitoring from independent stakeholders), ISO 26.000 and SA 8.000 (private entities that manage and oversee padronized politics).

Regionally, at the European Union, the Protocol and Agreement on Social Policy signed in Maastrich, in 1992, and revised by the Amsterdam Treaty, in 1997, is considered one of the most important ones. Although there’s no binding effect in the Protocol as well, it presupposes a tripartite relationship in the European Community, including the right of collective bargaining. Still in the EU, the European Workers’ Councils (EWCs) and the Directive 94/45/CE created “effective conditions to the institutionalization of EWCs or the creation of workers’ information and consultation

procedures in companies or groups of companies in comunitary dimensions” (Costa and Araújo 2004: 1)⁵⁶. In the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), the rise of national actors and interests didn’t have effect over the fast track⁵⁷ at the U.S. Congress (that approved the mechanism), but resulted in the North American Agreement on Labour Cooperation (NAALC). It affects workers unequally, since it had created some mechanisms of contestation of violations that are enforced asymmetrically according to internal capacity of national union organizations in Mexico, Canada, and the United States.

Other regional efforts, such as thematic workshops on Environment⁵⁸, gender, and age, unite union entities in Latin America, for instance, by organizations like

⁵⁶ Original text: “as condições efectivas para a instituição de CEEs ou para a criação de procedimentos de informação e consulta dos trabalhadores nas empresas ou grupos de empresa de dimensão comunitária”.

⁵⁷ As Thomaz (2012) mentions, “The process of liberalization in the US has direct relation with the fast track approval, in 1974, known since 2002 as Trade Promotion Authority (TPA). Through this mechanism, the Congress allowed the President the necessary authority to negotiate trade agreements without the Legislative interference to amendment. In other words, the Congress must approve or veto the agreement. The fast track came into effect from 1974 to 1994 and was activated again in 2002. It was valid until 2007, in order to facilitate commercial negotiations (32-33, my translation).”

⁵⁸ At this point I’d like to bring up some additional elements in a parallel debate, since this is a quite strong agenda at IndustriALL. The just transition, which is, how workers will be relocated from polluting economies to green economies not losing rights, is one of the strongest debates inside the union movement. However, at a fieldwork in one of the IndustriALL’s meeting in São Paulo with Latin American labor organizations, it was clear that there’s an agenda – from the North – that doesn’t necessarily dialogue with the agenda from the South. It doesn’t mean that labor organizations don’t want to dialogue, but because they aim to deal with the problem from their own point of view. Sometimes the resolution of the environmental issues brings as consequence economic stagnation or, still, fall in demand. This means, for some unionists, the threat of workers not accessing the level of consumption from countries in the North. The environmental issue and the prevalence of an agenda from the North bring another element to the debate: which are the limits of IndustriALL, an international organization that represents unequally the interests of labor entities from the North, given their power imbalances due to payment capability? Which are the policy making that, instead of basing in distributive and equitable class solidarity, operate in the sense of realizing protectionism in job positions from the North? Is there a promotion of a protectionist “social clause” also at IndustriALL? The Brazilian representative at IndustriALL was elected from a coalition in the South - Brazil, India and South Africa do Sul. Why this coalition was made? What’s the political background in order to elect a Brazilian representative, not an Indian or South African one? Was that a coalition? Was that a reflection of the Brazilian ascension in the world system? Was that a political decision based on bargaining. It’s worth mentioning that, although this dissertation doesn’t analyze the environmental issue, the political incentives resulting from power imbalances are worth being analyzed.

IndustriALL. Moreover, there's promotion of "best practices", as the Americas' Labor Plataform (*Plataforma Laboral das Américas*) by TUCA/ CSA:

A set of didactic materials to the development of a political methodology as common practices and methods to the processes of knowledge and sensibilization [...] that allows to those directly related with the issue to know, analyse, from their own experiences, developed subjects to define strategies and actions. Therefore, it's a guide to unions, groups, communities and advances proposes associated to visibilization of PLA proposals as tool for political action (TUCA 2015)⁵⁹.

Global Unions have been promoting some interesting sectorial meetings as the Pharmaceutical Unions Boost Networking, in which participants discuss, for instance, the sector restructuring, or specific issues (such as Health and Safety), in the regional mining network (São Paulo, November 2014). In Latin America, the Latin American Network of Research in Multinational Companies (*Rede Latino-Americana de Pesquisas em Empresas Multinacionais*, or RedLat), "join unions and research institutions about the world of work in seven countries of Latin America, with the common purpose of deepening the knowledge about the behavior of multinational corporations" (RedLat 2015)⁶⁰.

2.1.3.1 Global Unions

International union organizations by sector and company are under review in this research. As mentioned, at the industrial level, Global Union Organizations are the oldest and most representative. The International Metalworkers' Federation, for instance, nowadays a part of IndustriALL, was founded in the 2nd International, in 1889, according to its website. Varying by company, there are national and international

⁵⁹ Original text: "Um conjunto de materiais didáticos para o desenvolvimento de uma metodologia como prática política e métodos comuns para os processos de formação e sensibilização [...] que permita aos que estão diretamente relacionados com o tema, conhecer e analisar, a partir de suas experiências, os temas desenvolvidos e poder definir estratégias e ações para sua abordagem. Portanto, serve como guia para os sindicatos, grupos, comunidades e avança propostas associadas a visibilização das propostas da PLA como ferramenta de ação política".

⁶⁰ Original text: "reúne sindicatos e instituições de pesquisa sobre o mundo do trabalho de 7 países da América Latina, com o propósito comum de aprofundar o conhecimento acerca do comportamento social e trabalhista das empresas multinacionais".

networks, as well as Workers' Commissions and national and international committees. In this research IndustriALL Global Union's action over the networks at Inditex and Gerdau are a point of focus. Croucher e Cotton's (2009) definition of the meaning of a "network" is useful:

By 'network' here we mean stable groups of union representatives from different units of a multinational company or sector who are in communication with each other [...] In practice, networks take quite different forms, with differing levels of involvement of works councils, headquarters, and non headquarters unions, management and GUFs (Croucher and Cotton 2009: 69).

According to Gray (2015):

Global Union Federations serve as the bedrock for transnational networking. They are the first step in the process of building transnational union networks. Due to their global reach they are uniquely positioned to provide funding, organizational stability, and staff to help coordinate activity between unions separated by distance, language, and resources. Unions in the country of origin guide networks providing critical access to company management and knowledge of key company decisionmakers. The greater the involvement and resources provided by these two groups, the greater a network's stability and ability to increase the bargaining power of its members (5).

Global Unions have been trying to modernize and update its policies to remedy new challenges. Amongst new policies are international coalitions. Tarrow (2005) uses the terms "politicalopportunity structures" to name opportunities of disruption that are capable of modifying political policies and structures⁶¹. In fact, political and social changes are important, and affect these organizations in a daily basis. Examples include support from Global Unions given to the Occupy Movement, Black Lives Matter, anti-coup protests in Brazil, and financial support for to bring workers from the Global South to Global North conferences and events (such as Bangladeshi workers after the Rana Plaza collapse), among others.

Barriers to solidarity actions being carried out by Global Unions would include practical problems (such as language issues, costs of travelling, few financial resources, and lack of solidarity among unionists and organizations themselves); national barriers (such as weak national legislations and unions, Export Processing Zones, and

⁶¹ Later on the author would review how to name the process, since opportunity and structure seems contradictory when conjugated in an only concept.

international unions practices not being recognized nationally), besides globalized competitive pressures that could either unite or fragment unions further (Snyder 2008: 37-43). Union disaggregation is mainly due to corporate migration strategies to “free zones” that lead to whipsawing and a race to the bottom (Snyder 2008: 27 and 41; Gray 2009: 40; Anner et al. 2014). Howard (qtd. Evans 2010: 362) presents other critiques, as the excess of bureaucracy, IFAs instead of contracts by company, and the support for workers that already have structural power.

Despite all these difficulties, Global Unions offer support to local and global campaigns, as well long-term social chains (Evans 2010: 362-363; Gray 2009: 142). As Anner (2011) argues, there are:

Two major types of transnational labor response to recent political and economic transformation: transnational activist campaigns (TACs), which are built on shorter term labor and NGO cross-border alliances, and transnational labor networks (TLNs), which are characterized by stable, class based solidarity” (Anner 2011: position 384)⁶².

Furthermore, there are a variety of ways in which Global Unions showed their chops, besides the intangible reach of their actions. Inter-company union articulation, international campaigns, lists of emails, contacts, and technical body, access to international organizations, expertise and know-how, campaigns and established allies, and coordinated organizing in various countries are some of the examples that illustrate their relevance. Other network objectives include: exchange of information and experience among workers, solidarity through cooperation (and reinforcement of international cooperation), common actions, and a better chance of unions to have access to management (Müller and Platzer 2010).

Information is crucial in union mobilization. A good example of information benefiting workers is the co-gestational model: through participation of Boards of Directors in companies, workers appropriateness of strategic information allowing tactic strikes. Due to the information importance, the internet is crucial in the network’s actions (Bronfenbrenner 2007: 219; Costa 2007: 28; Evans 2010: 357; Tarrow 2007: 137;

⁶² This citation is from a kindle book with no ABNT norm.

Stirling 2010: 7). It's through the internet that it's possible diffusion of information, organization of Congresses and forums, propagation of international campaigns, and physical mobilization of activists and other stakeholders (unionists, employers' organizations, local communities, governments, and so on) (Stirling [2010]: 6). Tarrow (2007: 136-137) points out that the internet also de-bureaucratized institutions and diminishes costs.

2.1.3.1.1 IndustriALL

According to its website, IndustriALL is a Global Union representing 50 million workers in 140 countries. The “umbrella” sectors IndustriALL represents are manufacturing, energy, and mining⁶³(IndustriALL 2015b). IndustriALL was founded in June 19th, 2012, as a fusion of the International Metalworkers' Federation (IMF), the International Federation of Chemical, Energy, Mine and General Workers' Unions (ICEM), and the International Textiles Garment and Leather Workers' Federation (ITGLWF). IndustriALL's Head Office is in Geneva, Switzerland. Merging is a pattern among Global Unions:

Most of the trade secretariats developed from an organisation for professions and crafts to an organisation which includes one or more industrial professions; the following diagram regarding the history of fusions of the textile, garment- and leather workers' secretariats is exemplary for this process. The foundation of the IUF as a fusion of “trade” secretariats into an association for the “food industry” is an example for this development (Rutters 2001: 17).

The following tables show the merging process and members of the International Trade Secretariats from 1951/52 until the 2000's, and the development and fusion of the Trade Secretariats of Textile, Garment, and Leather Workers (1892-1970).

⁶³ The specific sectors are aerospace; automotive; base metals; chemical, pharmaceutical, and bio-science; energy (oil, gas, electricity and nuclear); glass, cement, ceramic, and associated industries; ICT, electrical, and electronics; industrial and environmental services; mechanical engineering; mining and DGOJP (diamond, gems, ornament, and jewelry production); pulp and paper; rubber; shipbuilding and shipbreaking; and textile, leather, garment, shoes, and textile services.

**Table 2 – Merging Process and Members of the International Trade Secretariats
1951/52 to 2000/01 (in 1.000)**

	1951/2			2000/1		
	M	U	C	M	U	C
Textile Workers (IFTWA/ITGLWF) ^{a)}	1.318	17	15	10.000	220	110
Shoe and Leather Workers (ISLWF/ITGLWF) ^{a)}	290	21	12			
Garment Workers (IGWF/ITGLWF) ^{a)}	810	19	14			
Building and Wood Workers (IFBWW)	1.974	55	20	11.000	283	124
Metalworkers (IMF)	6.623	24	16	23.000	193	101
Food Workers (IUF) ^{b)}	730	28	15	10.000 resp. 2.515 *	333	120
Tobacco Workers (IFTW/IUF) ^{b)}	93	9	9			
Hotel, Restaurant and Bar Workers (IUF) ^{b)}	166	13	11			
Land Workers (ILF/IUF) ^{b)}	1.072	29	15			
Plantation Workers (IUF) ^{b)}	1.004	13	13		340	119
Chemical, Energy and General Workers (ICEF/ICEM) ^{c)}	1.142	35	17	20.000	404	113
Miners (MIF/ICEM) ^{c)}	2.556	22	22			
Diamond Workers (UADW) ^{c)}	12	7	7			
Commercial, Clerical, Technical Employees (FIET/UNI) ^{d)}	1.470	28	16	15.500	900	140
Arts, Media and Entertainment (ISETU resp. MEI/UNI) ^{d)}	-	-	-			
Graphical Federation (IGF/UNI) ^{d)}	541	39	18			
Postal, Telegraph and Telephone branches (PTT/UNI) ^{d)}	1.118	45	29			
Public Services (PSI)	1.738	40	22	20.000	500	140
Transport Workers (ITF)	4.604	152	51	4.743	571	135
Teachers'/Education International (IFTU/EI)	670	10	9	24.000	304	155
Journalists (IFJ) ^{e)}	-	-	-	249	94	77

Source⁶⁴: Werner Reutter: Internationale Berufssekretariate – Restposten nationaler Gewerkschaftspolitik oder globaler Akteur?, in: Ulrich v. Alemann/Bernhard Weßels (Hrsg.): Verbände in vergleichender Perspektive. Beiträge zu einem vernachlässigten Feld, Berlin 1997, S. 142, und dessen Aktualisierung.

M = Members (in 1.000)

U = Unions

C = Countries

a) Merging of IFTWA and IGWF (1960) and with ISLWF (1970), into ITGLWF.

b) With the exception of the French union, the IFTW members merged into IUF in 1959; merging of IUF and Hotel and Restaurant Workers' in 1961. Land Workers and the Plantation Workers' Federation (founded in 1957) merged in 1960; merging with IUF in 1994. Plantation Workers: Figures as of 1958.

c) Merging of MIF and ICEF into ICEM in 1995; Merging with Diamond Workers in 2000.

d) The International Secretariat for Arts, Mass Media and Entertainment Trade Unions was founded in 1965; after the merging with FISTAV in 1993 it was renamed Media and Entertainment International (MEI) in 1995; which was succeeded by the merging of MEI, IGF, FIET and the Communications International (former PTTI) into the Union Network International (UNI) in 2000.

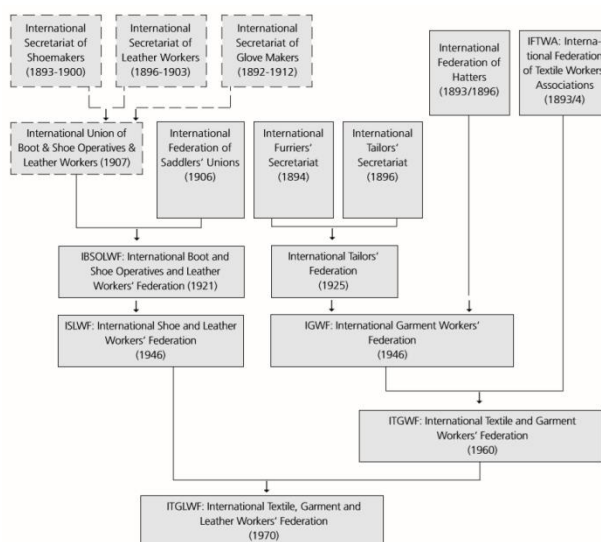
e) Founded in 1952 as a secession of the „International Organization of Journalists“, founded in 1946.

f) Except for IFJ (figures as of 1994) figures date of 2000 and 2001, respectively.

*) Statements according to IUF: Exekutive, 25.-26.4.2001. Unterlagen und Protokoll, Punkt 4 a/27.

⁶⁴ Information obtained from: Rütters, Peter (2001). *International Trade Secretariats – Origins, Development, Activities*. Available at: http://library.fes.de/library/netzquelle/intgw/geschichte/pdf/ruetters_e.pdf. Accessed in September 2nd, 2016.

Table 3 - Development and Fusions of Trade Secretariats of Textile, Garment, and Leather Workers (1892-1970)



Source⁶⁵: Werner Reutter: Möglichkeiten und Grenzen Internationaler Gewerkschaftspolitik. Geschichte, Struktur und Einfluß der Internationalen Textil-, Bekleidungs- und Lederarbeiter Vereinigung, Frankfurt a.M. 1998, S. 36

a) The Secretariats of Shoe Makers and Leather Workers dissolved in 1900 and 1903 respectively. In 1907, a common new union was founded. The Union of Hat Makers dissolved in 1912; the trade groups joined the International Union of Shoe and Leather Workers. The Union of Boot and Shoe Makers and Leather Workers appears in the sources under various names, the actual name is the post-war version.

Elected officials in June 2016 included one president (a German middle age man, from IG Metall), one general secretary (a Nordic middle age man with experience in international unionism), three vice-presidents (a U.S. white middle age man from AFL-CIO, a Japanese middle age man from the textile sector, and a South-African middle age man from COSATU), and three assistant general secretaries (a Brazilian middle age man from CUT, a Turkish white middle age man, and an Australian middle age woman from the textile sector) (IndustriALL 2015a). In other words, the heads of

⁶⁵ Information obtained from: Rütters, Peter (2001). *International Trade Secretariats – Origins, Development, Activities*. Available at: http://library.fes.de/library/netzquelle/intgw/geschichte/pdf/ruetters_e.pdf. Accessed in September 2nd, 2016.

IndustriALL are mostly white, middle age men from the Global North in a bureaucratic and vertical systems that include three vice-presidents. Despite the quotas for women instituted by IndustriALL, only one higher up representative is a woman (proportionally, 12.5% high representatives). There's also one Black person (12.5% of representativeness), and two leaders from the Global South (one quarter of the organization). According to its statute, "IndustriALL defends the right to self-determination for all people and opposes all forms of discrimination on the basis of gender, ethnic or national origin, religious or political beliefs, disability, sexual orientation or age" (IndustriaLL 2016a). It doesn't seem, though, that this is followed through in praxis via a direct representation of oppressed identity groups.

One of the prerequisites for affiliation includes independency from governments and employer influence (which in practice would be impossible in the Latin-American mostly corporatist system). If a new applicant submits a request for affiliation, input from already affiliated unions is requested, which potentially gives room for decision-making power affiliate unions, i.e. the stable and best organized ones. In addition, the application is submitted to the Executive Committee that decides if the application is accepted and sends it to the Congress, communicating the decision with the rest of the union later. Appeals can be submitted to the Congress.

The Congress is the main authority at IndustriALL. The Congress takes place every four years for those affiliates capable of complying with the fees. It should also be noted that IndustriALL does not comply with the gender quota in elected offices, in the Congress "At least thirty per cent of the delegates shall be women" (IndustriALL 2016a), according to IndustriALL's statute. Affiliates can propose resolutions in the Congress, a time in which decisions regarding strategies are also made, as well as the approval of reports, motions and resolutions, the settlement of annual fees, elections for the Executive Committee, regional officials and auditors, statutory and organizational issues.

2.1.3.1.2 Organizational power/ hegemony

In *Quaderni del carcere*, Gramsci defines hegemony as the intellectual and moral direction of a society. Hegemony may also be defined as the preponderance, domain, and leadership of a social group over other(s). Central to the definition of hegemony, thus, is the construction of consensus⁶⁶. In this research, hegemony is understood as the capacity of a group to construct, maintain, and eventually increase their power in an institution. In this case, an international union organization is scrutinized: IndustriALL.

International organizations (IOs) have a huge role maintaining mechanisms of hegemony. IOs develop, execute, and support the dominant mode of production and are an outcome of the hegemonic social order through internalizing, exporting, and legitimizing such rules, absorbing the elites of peripheral countries and counter-hegemonic ideas, and performing ideological tasks.

The concept of institutional power, in which “states design international institutions that perform according its long-term interests, detrimental to others” (Barbett and Duvall qtd. Souza 2014: 386) is paradigmatic in this regard: no country in the African continent initiated an action in the World Trade Organization (WTO) until 2014, although Egypt and South Africa were addressed eight times in the settling of disputes. Even if in the decision-making process is based on the rule of “one country, one vote”, some countries have a better technical body than others. The WTO is a perfect example of what many have called the “democratic deficit” in international organizations. WTO is a result of General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (Gatt) stripping by the United States and some countries of Western Europe in 1947 (Souza 2014: 387) so it is no coincidence that an asymmetric power imbalance in the WTO privileges some countries over others..

⁶⁶ The Gramscian definition of hegemony is aligned with the construction of consensus, but the recurrence of force is always there. Hegemony is consensus with the threat of force.

The International Labour Organization (ILO), by its turn, defined tripartism partially due to the prevalent model in countries of the Centre of capitalism that funded the organization (Cox 2007 [1993]: 118-9).

Cox (1996) argues that institutionalization – reflected in international organizations – is a way of perpetuating or establishing a certain social order. Institutions reflect hegemonic power relations and the reproduction of collective images based on these power relations. Cox's method of historical structure is based, concretely, on three levels or spheres of activity: (i) social forces; (ii) state formations derived from complexes of the state and society; (iii) world orders. These levels or spheres of activity are interrelated with no fixed prevalence of any one actor. According to Cox, the *pax Britannica* or *pax Americana* is explained by a historical structure involving all spheres of activity with the added essential component of hegemony: "The notion of hegemony as a fit between power, ideas, and institutions makes it possible to deal with some of the problems in the theory of state dominance as the necessary condition for a stable international order; it allows for lags and leads in hegemony" (Cox 1996 [1981]: 104).

How then would institutional hegemony operate in specific organizations? Let's explore by putting IndustriALL under the microscope:

2.1.3.1.3 Hegemony at IndustriALL and union networks

Unfortunately, like many organizations, IndustriALL reflects the power imbalance between the Global North and Global South, specifically German, Japanese, U.S., and Canadian labor organizations and "the rest of the world". In practice, labor organizations from the Global North have higher purchase power and financial capability that result in more chairs and more votes, a kind of geopolitics through payment and voting rights. Union members from the North "tend to have greater resources and greater access to international institutions" (Anner 2007: 64). Because

they often work for their own self-interest, and have the resources to do so, this reifies power of workers that already have structural power, notably those with formal and stable jobs (Howard qtd. EVANS 2010: 362). Jakobsen's (2001) critiques the Leninist, centralized organizational model of GUFs "disproportionately dominated by trade unionists from the North" (qtd. Evans 2010: 362). In other words, *bureaucratic arrangements in international union organizations lead to institutional power imbalances*.

But how do power imbalances in international union organizations come into being?

One reason for power imbalance is a culture of internationalism in European organizations and amongst European workers. The internationals were mostly a European project and somehow, after World War II, class conscious among European societies through formal organizations became more prominent than elsewhere. This is a challenge for building a truly horizontal and democratic international movement. As one of the interlocutor states:

excepting the Europeans that have an international tradition, the rest of the union movement has lots of difficulties in understanding the role of the international to their daily life and then never takes this issue as a priority. Priorities are always issues as collective bargaining, base date, an accident in a factory, accident prevention, equalize meal voucher values, immediate issues in a worker routine, [visible] earnings. As the salary base in developing countries is really low, any earnings are worth for working in these countries. So this agenda that in an international perspective is small, has priority in the routine of union movement [in developing countries]. Then the folks have little time to promote the international. South American and developing countries' unionisms haven't a tradition in international organizing (verbal information⁶⁷, own translation).

⁶⁷Interview with the former Coordinator of Projects at Building and Wood's International. Formation assistant at Sindsaúde (São Paulo) - July 2014. Original text: "tirando europeus que tem uma tradição internacional, o restante do movimento sindical tem muita dificuldade em compreender o papel do internacional pro seu cotidiano, e aí nunca põe na prioridade, a prioridade é sempre a negociação coletiva, a database, um acidente que aconteceu numa fábrica, a prevenção de acidentes... ou igualar o valor do vale refeição, que são coisas que pega muito no dia a dia do trabalhador, são ganhos. Como a base salarial nos países subdesenvolvidos é muito baixo, qualquer ganho é muito significativo pra vida do trabalhador. Então essas pauta que do ponto de vista internacional são menores, elas acabam ganhando prioridade no dia a dia do movimento sindical. E aí o cara passa a ter pouco tempo pra tocar o internacional. O sindicalismo sul-americano e dos países subdesenvolvidos não tem tradição em organização internacional".

In my master's thesis I found two objective critiques regarding power imbalances derived from payment capacity and the “Geneva cost” (the lowering of payment capability from organizations in countries with undervalued currencies) (Galhera 2012). Regarding power imbalances from payment capabilities, a similar arrangement was stated at the International Metalworkers’ Federation. Regarding the Geneva cost, the actual elected General Secretary, at the time from CNM-CUT stated over the International Metalworkers’ Federation that the measure one labor organization pays is a distortion, since the headquarter is in Geneva turn expensive the maintenance of an organization, especially for those organizations in countries in which the currency is undervalued.

Only “representative, independent, and democratic” (IndustriALL 2016a) labor unions with workers in the specific sectors IndustriALL represents are eligible for membership and applications. In reality, only structured labor unions – usually in the metal and chemical sectors – are likely to have material capabilities to attend.

One of the ways IndustriALL found to combat power imbalances derived from payment capabilities is the calculation of fees based on the GNP per capita. Each group pays a percentage of the full quota based on the country’s GNP per capita, as defined in its founding Congress, and the fee should be no less than CHF 100 (Swiss Franc):

Table 4 – Affiliation fee rates at IndustriALL based on GNP per capita, since 2012

Affiliation fee group	GNI per capita	Rate of the basic annual affiliation fee
Group 1	Over USD 30,000	100%
Group 2	USD 15,001 - 30,000	95%
Group 3	USD 14,101 - 15,000	90%
Group 4	USD 13,101 - 14,100	80%
Group 5	USD 12,001 - 13,100	70%
Group 6	USD 10,801 - 12,000	60%
Group 7	USD 9,501 - 10,800	50%
Group 8	USD 8,101 - 9,500	40%
Group 9	USD 6,601 - 8,100	30%
Group 10	USD 5,001 - 6,600	20%
Group 11	USD 3,301 - 5,000	10%
Group 12	USD 1,501 - 3,300	5%
Group 13	less than 1,500	2%

Source: IndustriALL (2016a). **Statutes of IndustriALL Global Union.** Available at: <http://www.industriall-union.org/about-us/statutes-of-industriall-global-union>. Accessed in December, 2017.

One of the key problems of the GNP per capita, not realized elsewhere (not even by unions leaders in the fieldwork), is that in a highly unequal country the GNP per capita is probably high and the working class is likely poor. The GNP per capita doesn't necessarily mean that workers in a given country make money. In other words, unless the income gap between the person at the top and the person at the bottom of the social pyramid is small, the payment fee will always be a barrier to equality. Additionally, since the fee is paid in Swiss francs, unions' organizations payment capability is

vulnerable to fluctuations in the market exchange rate which is more likely to negatively affect countries (and workers) from the periphery of the world system.

As a result of the inequity created by this framework, the worst burden is carried by the most vulnerable – and consequently less paid – workers, such as women, youth, people of color, and immigrants. Payment capabilities vary according to sectors, so union organizations in stable industries (such as the steel industry which employs predominantly older, white, male workers) are more likely to engage in international unionism than those in more precarious ones (such as the garment industry which employs predominantly young, non-white, female workers). One way of diminishing industrial power imbalances, might be to enact contribution guidelines that are percentage-based.

If an organization does not work to diminish profound power asymmetries among members, it's likely to benefit members that have the capacity to contribute more to the maintenance and legitimation of the organization, and affiliates that feel an unfair game being played will probably have less incentives to engage in the organization. I aim to demonstrate hegemony in IndustriALL is a result of historical, industrial power imbalances (which also reflect social perceptions around gender, race, and age), and the structure of the capitalist world system. One way of dealing with this problem would be to address industrial payment capabilities and power relations in the world geopolitic, not by GDP per capita as IndustriALL calculates fees currently.

Gender quotas and other mechanisms for increasing women's participation in decision-making positions at IndustriALL were implemented only recently; which means, since its founding in 1889, unchecked gender bias has run rampant.

Additionally, Executive Committee – made of up representatives from affiliated unions – also reflects these same power imbalances. The Executive Committee “reflect[s] the *membership* as regards gender balance, regions and sectors” (IndustriALL 2016a, emphasis added). At first glance, the Executive Committee may seem to reflect the membership, then maybe address some gender balance, but it *does not* counter-balance regions and sectors in practice and does not address inequality

across races and how older workers concentrate more structural power than younger workers. Still, there's the above-mentioned problem of division between Global North and South: Statistics show that Europe holds the largest concentration of seats (42%) and, combined with North America (15%) – the richest regions of the world – together make up 56.67% of the Executive Committee (see table 5 below).

Table 5 – Distribution of seats in the Executive Committee per region, since 2012

Asia-Pacific	12 seats, including at least 3 women
Latin America and the Caribbean	6 seats, including at least 2 women
Middle East & North Africa	2 seats, including at least 1 woman
North America	9 seats, including at least 3 women
Sub-Saharan Africa	6 seats, including at least 2 women
Europe	25 seats, of which 7 (including at least 2 women) for Central and Eastern Europe and 18 (including at least 5 women) for Western Europe

Source: IndustriALL (2016a). **Statutes of IndustriALL Global Union.** Available at: <http://www.industriall-union.org/about-us/statutes-of-industriall-global-union>. Accessed in December, 2017.

This situation isn't new:

With one short-lived exception the ITSs have always made their headquarters in Europe. The choice of location within Western Europe has usually depended on a few key factors: the ability to work unhindered by the public authorities, the presence in the host country of a strong and internationally oriented labor movement, and a reasonably central location. Since the beginning of the post war period, Geneva and Brussels have emerged as the two favored locations. ITS headquarters in Geneva have ready access to the ILO, the intergovernmental body of greatest importance to their work. Brussels has become the nearest thing to the capital of Europe and also serves as headquarters for the ICFTU and the ETUC (Windmuller 2000: 100-110).

Considering IndustriALL's institutional power, it should not be hard "to achieve the broadest possible consensus in every field" (IndustriALL 2016a), through simple majority, at the Executive Committee; however, that is not what is playing out on the international stage. Consensus, in this case, could be understood as consensus among only certain circles that concentrate power. Once this type of consensus is set up in a relevant committee, it's expected that biased decisions will substantially affect the entire organization. The Executive Committee at IndustriALL wields decision making power through an array of procedures. These procedures include, but are not limited to: drafting agendas for its meetings, budget definition, reviewing and ensuring amendments adopted by the Congress, approval of annual accounts, applications for admission (and expulsion), nomination of acting presidents and vice-presidents, general secretaries and assistants, new and substitute members and auditors, selecting and approving proposals related to the new Congress; establishing special committees as well as working groups, regional organizations and offices, members of the Finance Committee, and frequency of section conferences (IndustriALL 2016a).

Additionally, the former President – as mentioned, a German middle age man from IG Metall in 2016 – concentrates a considerable quantity of decision making power, as presiding over *all* meetings of the Congress, the Executive Committee, and the Finance Committee, as well as supervising the work of the Secretariat and regional offices (IndustriALL 2016a). In 2016, a historic change in this leadership took place: a Brazilian was elected General Secretary at IndustriALL. One interview of him reflects power imbalances:

What does it mean to have a Brazilian ahead an institution such as IndustriALL? I believe that my presence as General Secretary changes the perception about the entity a little. Although people demonstrate sensibility and solidarity, having someone from a country in development, in the South, changes much of the perception of a organization historically driven by Europeans (CNM 2016a, my translation⁶⁸)

⁶⁸ Original text: "O que representa ter um brasileiro à frente da secretaria geral de uma entidade como a IndustriALL?

Acredito que minha presença como secretário geral muda um pouco a percepção da entidade. Por mais que as pessoas tenham sensibilidade e solidariedade, ter alguém de um país em desenvolvimento, do hemisfério sul, muda muito a perspectiva de uma organização que sempre foi comandada por europeus."

The general secretary and assistant general secretary, are administrative positions and as such do not have decision-making power so this new General Secretary is correct. Duties of general secretaries include implementing IndustriALL's policies and decisions, safeguarding and representing its interests, directing key operations, managing staff, working with the treasury and handling operations when necessary, preparing documentation for the Congress and other statutory meetings, informing affiliates, and acting as spokesperson. Assistant general secretaries, by their turn, shall perform duties defined by the general secretaries together with the president (IndustriALL 2016a).

Regional and national arms of IndustriALL, according to its own guidelines , are designed to uphold the decisions of the organization's head: "The regional organizations shall assist in the implementation of IndustriALL's general policies and priorities as decided by the Congress and the Executive Committee" (IndustriALL 2016a). There is little to no organizational support for autonomous regional decisions from affiliates. In a top-down design, thus, the established hegemony is intentionally facilitated while bottom-up participation via mechanisms that voice regional demands are not implemented. While regional conferences are held every four years and there are incentives to include the participation of women and non-manual workers (white collars) in some sections of IndustriALL's Congresses, nothing is mentioned regarding young workers, outsourced workers, workers of color, or workers from the Global South. This structure extends to national councils, which "may be established by affiliates in countries where IndustriALL has more than one affiliate, in order to promote common action and maintain relations between the affiliates and the Secretariat" (IndustriALL 2016a).

Each affiliate has one vote for each member who has paid affiliation fees in accordance with Article 8 (IndustriALL 2016a). Windmuller (2000) provides a critique of this situation:

in order to become or remain an ITS-affiliated organization, a union almost invariably must be national in scope, must subscribe to the general policies of the secretariat, must meet its financial obligations in a timely manner, and must

abide by decisions of the ITS' governing bodies. Failure to comply with the rules could lead to penalties, including suspension and expulsion (107).

IndustriALL's influence on union networks is another subject this research seeks to problematized, since in Brazilian networks IndustriALL plays an expressive rule:

The work of networks is promoted based on some essential rules defined by IndustriALL:

Political mandate of labor unions to create the network;

Labor unions from the company's headquarter;

The network must be an independent body;

The network must be transparent and open to all interested unions;

Each union decides about their own participation and the company's representative;

Plan of Action must contain: aims, themes, structures, ways of communication, coordinator's role, meetings, electronic means;

The aim of the network is to strength union's power at the national, regional, and global levels (CNTM 2013: 21, my translation⁶⁹).

In fact, at Gerdau's meeting in 2014, IndustriALL was present and there wasn't a sole woman in attendance - most union leaders were men and nationals. I know this because I myself was present at the meeting as well as an Argentinian researcher and translators (these were women as well). Within the Inditex Network, the leader is also a man, despite many rank-and-file female members. This is not to say there's a direct and unequivocal relationship between IndustriALL and specific networks, but it's impossible to argue that a global union doesn't have an impact in regards to representation within networks they work with since inclusion says as much about the politics of these networks than anything (verbal information⁷⁰).

⁶⁹ Original text: "O trabalho de Redes é feito com base em algumas regras essenciais, emitidas pela IndustriALL:

1) Mandato político do Sindicato para criação da Rede; 2) Responsabilidade do Sindicato do País de origem da Multinacional; 3) A Rede deve ser órgão sindical independente; 4) A Rede deve ser transparente e aberta a todos os Sindicatos interessados; 5) Cada Sindicato decide sobre participação própria e do representante da empresa; 6) Plano de Ação, contendo: Fins, Temas, Estruturas, Formas de comunicação, papel do Coordenador, Encontros, Meios eletrônicos; 7) Fim da Rede: fortalecer o poder sindical nacional, regional e global".

⁷⁰Interview with IndustriALL's Director of Special Projects.Meeting at Gerdau's Annual Meeting - May 2014.

It's also worth noting that European networks hold influence over Brazilian networks, since Brazilian national booklets regarding union networks and IndustriALL shows their influence:

The idea of building International Union Networks to advance workers' rights is not new. Some years ago, workers from Volkswagen, in Wolfsburg, affiliated to IG Metall recognized that it was important build and develop cooperation and dialogue in all VW production plants throughout the world, to advocate for their rights worldwide. In order to do this, they accessed valuable contacts in all countries [that the company operates]. As a consequence, the Working Group Intersoli in 1982 was headquartered at IG Metall's local Representation, in front of VW. Later on, in 1990, the creation of the European Workers' Council at VW and, in 1998, the World European Committee Council at VW expanded the work. We may say that Union Networkers were born there (CNTM 2013: 16, my translation⁷¹).

At the same time, international unionism is costly with few immediate results for rank and file members in Brazilian national labor organizations compared to their national interests and structures. Also, eurocentrism (or Global-North centrism) often rears its ugly head in international arrangements:

even at the Sole Union's social basis it is unequal, right? At the very bottom it's even worse, because it's expensive. For instance, am I going to pay a good lawyer that is going to help me in the base date or am I going to hire a good advisor of International Relations? I am going to have a good lawyer, because s(h)e supports me [and my organization] in most important issues from my perspective, then international relations is not going to be a priority. So the network has lots of challenges in its everyday situations: few unions survive without the company's support; today most networks have employers' support. In Brazil any company recognizes union networks. So there is an expressive challenge in surviving solely on the union movement. International cooperation helps a lot in this sense. So money that flows from Europe and the United States keeps the network alive, at least at the annual meetings, which is quite important [...]

Interviewer: Do you think that because the money flows from the Global North somehow imposes an agenda?

⁷¹ Original text: "A ideia de criar Redes Sindicais Internacionais, para fazer avançar a defesa dos direitos dos trabalhadores, não é nova. Há alguns anos, filiados no Sindicato dos Metalúrgicos da Alemanha, o IG Metall, trabalhadoras e trabalhadores do consórcio Volkswagen em Wolfsburg, reconheceram como era importante a construção e o desenvolvimento da cooperação e do diálogo com todas as plantas da VW no mundo, para defesa dos seus interesses em nível mundial. Para isto, utilizaram os valiosos contatos que possuíam em todos os países. Consequência disto foi a criação do Grupo de Trabalho Intersoli, no ano de 1982, sediado na Representação local do IG Metall em Wolfsburg, bem em frente à VW. Depois, em 1990, a criação do Conselho de Empresa Europeu da VW e, em 1998, do Conselho Mundial dos Trabalhadores do Consórcio VW, ampliaram o trabalho. Podemos dizer que as Redes Sindicais nasceram dali".

Interviewee: Yes, totally.

Interviewer: How?

Interviewee: I saw North-Americans at the Gerdau network teaching methods of organizing. Since the money flew from the US they organized the whole agenda, including a workshop about union organizing. So there was also prejudice due to nationality, because the Brazilian feeling is: we already elected a president that was a unionist, the Sole Central has a very strong political influence, all the central elect deputies that participate in the political life, so North Americans have nothing to teach us. Also, concepts as "social cohesion" are ideologically elaborated in Europe, including at the European level, with no meaning in Brazil. However, it's an agenda in Brazil due to networks (verbal information⁷², own translation).

As argued in this dissertation, this is one paradox for labor internationalism - when northern actors design institutions over southern actors due to power asymmetries in labor unionism - that is reinforced in actual labor transnationalism. It means that as it is designed, actual labor transnationalism reinforces, rather than neutralize, power imbalances.

⁷²Interview with the former Coordinator of Projects at Building and Wood's International. Formation assistant at Sindsaude (Sao Paulo) - July 2014.

Original text: "Interviewee: [...] mesmo quando você vai pra base da CUT a coisa é desigual, né? Quando se chega lá na ponta é pior ainda. Porque custa caro, por exemplo, eu vou pagar um bom advogado que vai me ajudar na database ou vou ter um advogado meia boca e contratar um assessor de relações internacionais? Eu vou ter um bom advogado, porque ele me ajuda no que me pega e no que é mais prioritário pra mim, aí vou deixar as relações internacionais para um dirigente, que não fala outros idiomas, que não tem isso como prioridade na vida dele, e vai acabar secundarizando a prioridade e agenda de trabalho. Então, a rede, ela tem muita dificuldade no seu cotidiano, são poucas as redes que sobreviveram sem o apoio da empresa, hoje as maiores redes elas tem apoio da empresa. E aí no Brasil as multinacionais brasileiras nenhuma apoia e reconhece rede. Então, você vai ter uma dificuldade muito grande dela sobreviver só via movimento sindical. O que ajuda? A cooperação internacional. Então, o dinheiro que vem da Europa e Estados Unidos para o financiamento da rede é o que acaba mantendo o funcionamento da rede, pelo menos no encontro anual. Que já é muito importante [...]"

Interviewer: Você acha que o fato do dinheiro vir do norte global de alguma forma impõe alguma agenda pró-sindicalista do sul?

Interviewee: Total, total.

Interviewer: Em que sentido?

Interviewee: Eu vi os norte-americanos na rede Gerdau ensinando método de organização dos trabalhadores pros brasileiros, então, porque o dinheiro vinha dos estados unidos, eles montavam a programação do encontro, chegava a programação pra nós toda pronta e quando a gente ia ver na programação tinha uma aula sobre organização sindical. E aí vinha o preconceito de nacionalidade, porque o sentimento dos brasileiros é: nós já elegemos um presidente sindicalista, a CUT tem uma relevância pra política brasileira muito grande, todas as centrais elegem deputados, participam da vida política, então os norte-americanos não tem o que nos ensinar. E aí vai gerar um conflito que já é um problema dentro da rede, além disso, conceitos como "coesão social", "coesão social" é um conceito elaborado ideologicamente na Europa. Inclusive pra tocar o processo de integração regional, o processo da União Europeia. Não tem sentido no Brasil, mas é uma agenda que entra no Brasil através das redes, da cooperação internacional e foi formulado, então é uma forma de exportar ideologia também"

But how do these variables and historical formations affect labor and employment relations in practice? How do social markers of difference translate to the Latin American context, in general, and in Brazil, in particular? How do they affect the actual design of labor and employment relations in Brazil and the rest of Latin America? Let us explore these questions in the next section.

CHAPTER 3 - STRUCTURAL CHARACTERISTICS OF INDUSTRIES AND NETWORKS DERIVED

Hitherto, the research covers the contemporary international union scene. Furthermore, power imbalances stemming from specific cadres, industry profiles, and countries of origin are also showcased. With this research, I aim to demonstrate that the profile of some industries is central in shaping the political arena (see chapter four, results). In other words, industries' profiles directly relate to the design of union networks: for each industry, there's a unique political struggle derived from characteristics such as worker's profiles. Although, I'm particularly interested in class, gender, race, nationality, and age as variables, issues such as the mobility of production plants should be considered when analyzing GSC. What my research brings to the table, however, is that other characteristics are also linked to the variables analyzed. For instance, it's worth our time to consider why "technical" workers are separately classified and why technicians are better paid in the so-called "transformative industries" if non-technical work is frequently essential to these industries and the economy at large. Plus, it's worth considering why technical work is frequently linked to better pay and why technical positions are often held by, privileged, non-minorities populations. In illustrating my point, I take two industries - steel and garment - in two unique transnational companies - Gerdau and Inditex. Although, I choose to focus on these two specific case studies, my findings might well apply to other industries with other structures.

Let us begin by asking: what problems are derived by design of industries and which are derived by the international union network? In this Third Chapter, I present the industries' profiles and, in the Fourth Chapter, I present the design of international networks derived from industry.

3.1 The industries/ supply chains

3.1.1 The steel company - Gerdau S.A.

Gerdau is a family-owned company that started as a small nail factory in 1901 in the Southern Brazilian city of Porto Alegre.. The company was founded by a German immigrant, Johannes Heinrich Kaspar, and his son. With Getúlio Varga's expansionist spirit, the company forged a plan for growth :

[...] the pragmatic distance created political conditions for the successful efforts around the building of a huge steel industry. Vargas' government lead to extreme limit conversations between powers around the issue of a steel mill. Roosevelt's lack of political will on the issue was apparent: during Missão Aranha (February 1939) he proposed a general revision of Brazilian and US relations, including economic support and defense issues. Steel issues wasn't part of the conversation's agenda. One year later, understandings with the US began to be freezed again. So, president Vargas threatened him with a radical change of position to get a fast solution. The US government fast promoted a funding plan through Eximbank. Also, tomologic providing by US companies. Factory's property and control was in the hands of the Brazilian state.

The US decision to finance the Brazilian steel industry, overcoming worries that it could turn into a nationalist boomerang, gave to Vargas a precious triumph in conquering the Brazilian support. Brazilian foreign affairs couldn't stop taking into account this new fact. Besides that, at that point, the European war was changing deeply the international framework.

Overall, the politics of pragmatic equidistance supported the diversification, in an era of economic depression, external essential markets for the Brazilian economy, external essential markets to the Brazilian economy, constituted an important political triumph in creating the huge Brazilian steel industry and – maybe more importantly – widened the capacity of bargaining the Brazilian government to following crucial years (Gerson Moura [?]: 584, my translation⁷³).

⁷³ Original text: “Foi também a equidistância pragmática que criou as condições políticas para o sucesso dos esforços em tomo da criação da grande siderurgia. O governo Vargas levou aos limites extremos as conversações com uma e outra potência em torno da ajuda para a instalação de uma usina siderúrgica. A má vontade da administração Roosevelt sobre o assunto era evidente: durante a Missão Aranha (fevereiro de 1939), em que se propôs uma revisão geral do conjunto das relações Brasil-Estados Unidos, incluindo-se aí a ajuda econômica e os problemas de defesa, o tema siderurgia sequer fazia pane da agenda de conversações. E quando, um ano depois, os entendimentos com o governo americano voltaram a cair no pântano das indefinições, Vargas ameaçou-o com uma mudança radical de posição política para obter um rápido encaminhamento da solução. O governo dos Estados Unidos depressa promoveu um plano de financiamento pelo Eximbank e de fornecimento de temologia pelas empresas privadas norte-americanas, ficando a propriedade e controle da usina nas mãos do Estado brasileiro.

A decisão do governo norte-americano de financiar a siderurgia brasileira, vencendo os receios de que ela pudesse funcionar como um *boomerang* nacionalista, deu-lhe um trunfo precioso na conquista do

Gerdau opened the capital (S.A.) in 1947 and expanded business to São Paulo in 1967. Gerdau's internationalization started with Uruguayan and US operations in the 80's, opening capital in the 90's (Galhera 2013; Gerdau 2013; Gerdau 2017).

Presently, the company has 77 commercial units (all of them in Brazil and concentrated in the industrialized Southeast region), 11 offices (Guatemala, US, Chile, Argentina, India, and Brazil⁷⁴), a headquarter in Porto Alegre, 31 raw material units in Brazil and the US⁷⁵, 42 production units (India, Spain, Brazil, Uruguay, Argentina, Chile, Peru, Mexico, Caribe, Canada, and the US⁷⁶), and 75 processing plants (US⁷⁷). It employs a staggering 45 thousand workers worldwide (CNM 2014a).

apoio brasileiro. A política externa brasileira não podia deixar de levar em conta este fato novo. Além disso, àquela altura, a guerra européia já modificara profundamente o quadro internacional. No conjunto, a política de equidistância pragmática ajudou a diversificar, numa era de depressão econômica, os mercados externos essenciais à economia brasileira, constituiu um trunfo político da maior importância na criação da grande siderurgia brasileira e - talvez mais importante - ampliou a capacidade de barganha do governo brasileiro para anos cruciais que se seguiram".

⁷⁴ Aceros de Guatemala, Comercial Gerdau Administração, Pérez - Santa Fé, San Diego, Belo Horizonte, India Office, Renca - Santiago, Tampa Office, Bogotá, Jackson Office, and Rio de Janeiro.

⁷⁵ Mississauga Metallics Raw Materials, Bismarck Metallics Raw Materials, Chhattanooga Metallics Raw Materials, Covington Metallics Raw Materials, Jamestown Metallics Raw Materials, London Metallics Raw Materials, Oshawa Metallics Raw Materials, Sand Springs Metallics Raw Materials, Toronto Metallics Raw Materials, Winnipeg Metallics Raw Materials, Buffalo Metallics Raw Materials, Fair Roads Metallics Raw Materials, Guelph Logistics Metallics Raw Materials, Lynchburg Metallics Raw Materials, Perth Amboy Metallics Raw Materials, South Boston Metallics Raw Materials, Charlottesville Metallics Raw Materials, Cornwall Metallics Raw Materials, Fargo Metallics Raw Materials, Guelph Metallics Raw Materials, Minot Metallics Raw Materials, Roanoke Metallics Raw Materials, Waynesboro Metallics Raw Materials, São Caetano do Sul, Jundiaí, Uberlândia, Bauru, Joinville, Araraquara, Goiânia.

⁷⁶ Aceros de Guatemala (Guatemala City), Aceros de Guatemala (Sidegua), Beaumont mill (Long Steel), Cali mill, Calvert City mill (Long Steel), Chimbote mill, Ciudad Ojeda mill, Colina mill, Duitama mill, Fort Smith mill (Special Steel), Jackson mill (Long Steel), Jackson mill (Special Steel), La Presa mill, Manitoba mill (Long Steel), Monroe mill (Special Steel), Montevideo mill, Muña mill, Rancho Cucamonga mill (Long Steel), Renca mill, Sahagún mill, Sayreville mill (Long Steel), St. Paul Steel Mill, St. Paul mill (Long Steel), Tadipatri mill, Tultitlan mill, Tuta mill, Usina Araçariquama, Usina Açonorte, Usina Barão de Cocais, Usina Cearense, Usina Charqueadas, Usina Cosigua, Usina Divinópolis, Usina Mogi das Cruzes, Usina Ouro Branco, Usina Perez, Usina Pindamonhangaba, Usina Riograndense, Usina Santo Domingo (Gerdau Metaldom), Usina Tocancipá, Usina Usiba, Whitby mill (Long Steel).

⁷⁷ Technical Resource Center, Auburn Reinforcing Steel, Bassett Facility, Beaumont Wire Products, Belvidere Reinforcing Steel, Birmingham Reinforcing Steel, Canton Facility, Carrollton Wire Products, Cartersville Bright Bar, Charlotte Reinforcing Steel, Chicago Sales Office, Cincinnati Reinforcing Steel, Dallas Reinforcing Steel, Dallas Technical Resource Center, Decatur Construction Products, Denver Reinforcing Steel, Draper Reinforcing Steel, Duluth Grinding Ball, Eldridge Construction Products, Fairfield Reinforcing Steel, Fort Lauderdale Reinforcing Steel, Foxboro Technical Resource Center, Glendale Reinforcing Steel, Henderson Reinforcing Steel, Houston Reinforcing Steel, Huntington Facility,

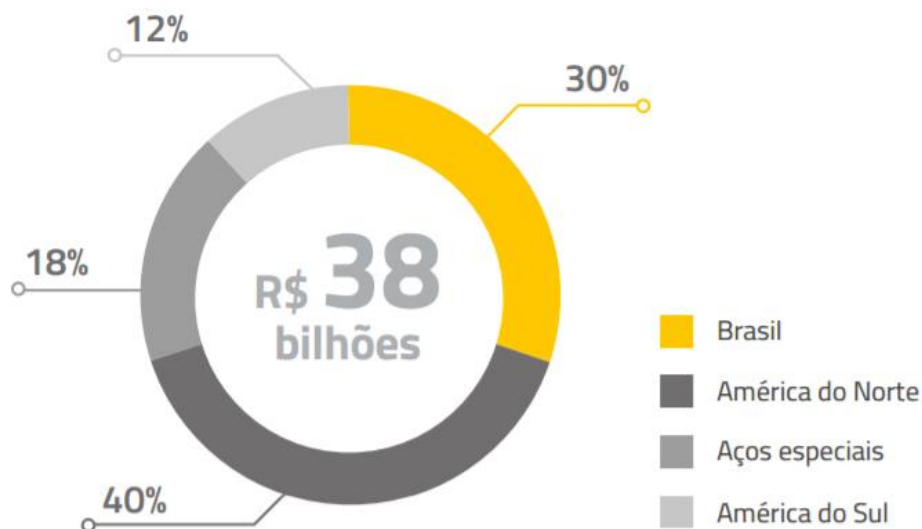
According to Gerdau's Integrated Report (2016), the company employs 31 thousand "collaborators": 88% men and 12% women, and 1.2 thousand "leaders" contributing to the "cultural transformation journey the company is on" (Gerdau's Integrated Report 2016: 17, own translation⁷⁸). Human Resources Management Programs include the School of Leaders (*Escola de Líderes* - actual leaders dedicate around 30% of their time to mentor other leaders), Technical School (*Escola Técnica* - where workers learn to bring technical tools into the company), Mentoring (special talents in strategic positions), Workshops and Learning sessions (between collaborators and external professionals), Recognition of differentiated Performance (promoting collaborators that have a high performance in comparison with others), Yammer (intranet), Fast Methods (*Uso de Métodos Ágeis* - where workers learn to improve logistics and economy), and Health and Safety (Gerdau's Integrated Report 2016: 19-20).

The company's financial performance includes a net worth of R\$ 38 million (around US\$ 10 million) and a consolidated and adjusted net profit of R\$ 90 million. The company's net worth comes mainly from North America (40%), Brazil (30%), Special Steel (Brazil, the US, and India - 18%), and South America (12%). Main operations are strictly confined to the Americas. The cash flow is around R\$ 970 million (Gerdau's Integrated Report 2016: 34-38).

Jacksonville Reinforcing Steel, Johnson City Construction Products, Kansas City Reinforcing Steel, Knoxville Coating, Knoxville Construction Products, Knoxville Mining Products, Knoxville Reinforcing Steel, Knoxville ZBAR, Lancaster Rail Products, Lindon Reinforcing Steel, Little Rock Construction Products, Louisville Reinforcing Steel, Louisville Technical Resource Center, MFT - Super Light Beams - Memphis, Madison Construction Products, Memphis Reinforcing Steel, Mt. Hope Facility, Muncie Reinforcing Steel, Muskogee Reinforcing Steel, Napa Reinforcing Steel, Nashville Construction Products, Nashville Reinforcing Steel, New Orleans Reinforcing Steel, North Vernon Facility, Northern Virginia Reinforcing Steel, Oklahoma City Reinforcing Steel, Orrville Bright Bar, Paragould Rail Products, Perth Amboy Reinforcing Steel, Plainville Reinforcing Steel, Pleasant Prairie Facility, Raleigh Reinforcing Steel, San Bernadino Reinforcing Steel, San Diego Reinforcing Steel, Sand Springs Rail Products, Santa Fe Springs Reinforcing Steel, Savannah Reinforcing Steel, Sayreville Reinforcing Steel, St. Louis Reinforcing Steel, Sterling Reinforcing Steel, Tampa Reinforcing Steel, Tampa Technical Resource Center, Trussville Reinforcing Steel, Urbana Construction Products, York Reinforcing Steel, York Technical Resource Center.

⁷⁸ Original text: "Na jornada de transformação cultural que a Empresa está vivendo".

Graph 10 - Net income worldwide (Gerdau, 2016)



Source: Gerdau (2016). **Integrated Report (*Relato Integrado*)**. Available at: <https://www.gerdau.com/pt/gerdau-mediacycenter/Documents/relato-integrado-gerdau-2016.pdf>. Accessed in May, 2017.

Strategies of the company include diminishing fixed assets, Capital Expenditure (CAPEX⁷⁹), disinvestments from Spain (Gerdau Sidenor, R\$ 562 million), Guatemala and Honduras (selling 30% of *Corporación Centroamericana del Acero*, R\$ 238 million), Colombia (Cleary Holdings Corp. and Yumbo, R\$ 196 and R\$ 119 million), and the U.S. (Perth Amboy Sand Springs, Tonowanda, Indian Town, and Little Rock, total R\$ 184 million) (Gerdau's Integrated Report 2016, 37; SEC 2017).

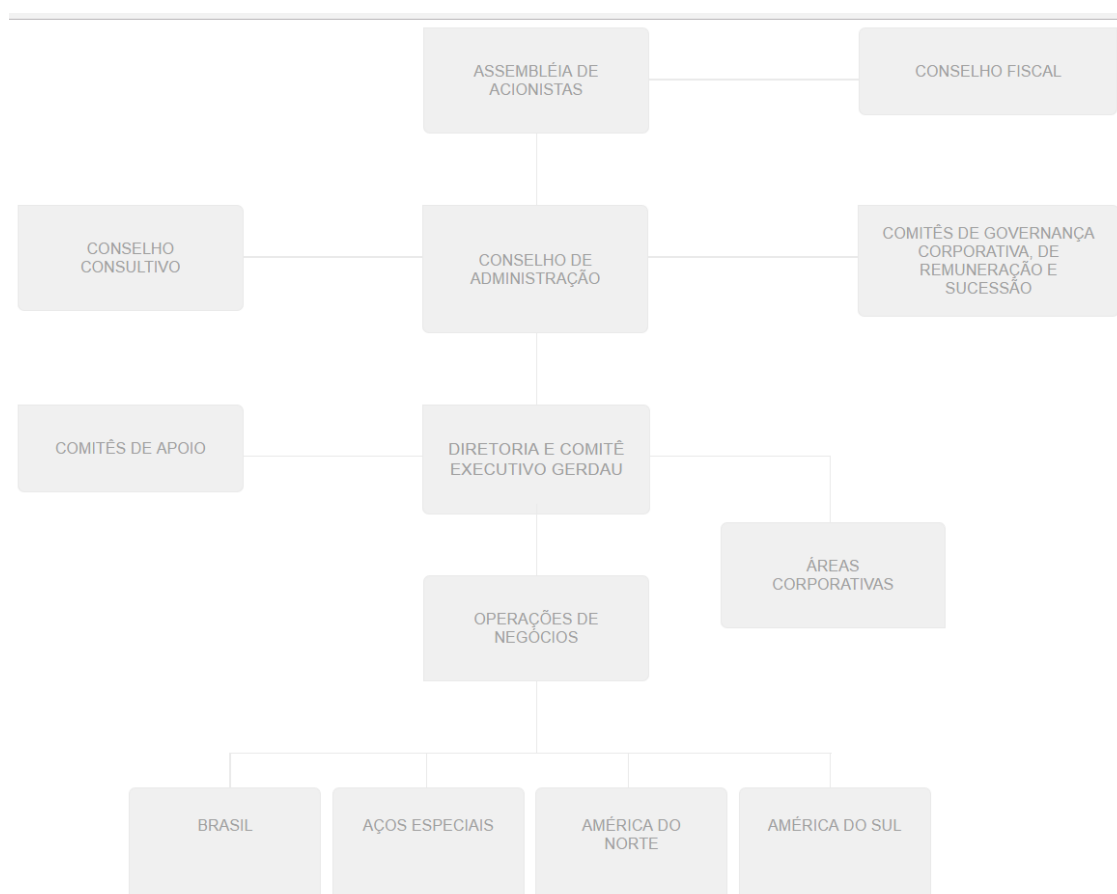
As we see Gerdau is a family-owned transnational corporation with open capital; however, the company doesn't carry project the impersonal nature common to many huge corporations: it's interesting to note that "Johannpeter", the family surname, can be found repeatedly among the company's high ranking executives and follow a

⁷⁹ "Capital expenditure, or CapEx, are funds used by a company to acquire or upgrade physical assets such as property, industrial buildings or equipment. It is often used to undertake new projects or investments by the firm. This type of outlay is also made by companies to maintain or increase the scope of their operations. These expenditures can include everything from repairing a roof to building, to purchasing a piece of equipment, or building a brand new factory" (Investopedia 2017b).

gendered pattern as well. While men lead the company, the “real business”, women lead the Gerdau Institute (they are confined to teaching positions--benevolent, motherly figures mirroring what some have deemed the “care economy”--those that somewhat submissively nurture the growth of others).

The company’s governance structure is designed as follows: Regional Sectoral Bodies are divided into four sections-- “Brazil,” “Special Steel,” “North America”, and “South America”:

Organogram 2 - Corporate Governance Structure (Gerdau, 2016)



Source: Gerdau (2017c). **Governança Corporativa.** Available at: <https://www.gerdau.com/pt/quem-somos/governanca-corporativa>. Accessed in May, 2017.

The main companies in this industry are Arcelor Mittal, Hesteel Group, Nippon Steel, POSCO, Baosteel Group, Shagang Group, Ansteel Group, Tata, and ThyssenKrupp AG, among others (Worldsteel Association 2017; Steel-Technology 2017). Special competition and competitive companies are Chinese, due to China's recent industrialization boom.

The company regulatory frames are often the bare minimum of national legislative guidelines. Gerdau has an aggressive profile, so non-binding agreements and other forms of non-enforcing mechanisms, tools, accords, and etc. don't exist, unless the company agrees to participate in them to leveraging capital (such as their submission for the Securities Exchange and Commission's rules). In fact, Gerdau not only does not submit to regulatory frames: the company takes it a step further, trying to trespass the law through tax evasion, corruption, and money laundering (Bloomberg 2016; FT 2016). The company also takes advantage of legislative loopholes to slow enforcement of labor standards creating a permanent race to the bottom (CNM-CUT 2009).

3.1.2 The garment company - Inditex (Industria de Diseño Textil S.A.)

Inditex is a family-owned conglomerate in the textile sector. It's holds the rank of 2nd in profit margin for the whole industry in a highly-fragmented supply chain, although this problem is not publicized by the company. It maintains good relationships with the international and national unions but has been failing to provide real health and safety conditions for workers. Inditex has also been called out for paying poverty wages and conditions analogous to slavery in the supply chain even though, in 2016, Inditex's owner made headlines as the richest person in Spain and the second richest person in the world (coming in just after Microsoft mogul Bill Gates) (Forbes 2016). Other characteristics of note: the brands is sensitive to consumers and social media and the company has not changed the scope of its operations over the years.

According to the company's 2015 annual report⁸⁰, net sales were 20,900 million euros in 2015 and 18,117 euros in 2014. Net profit was reported as 2,882 million euros in 2015 and 2,501 in 2014. Inditex's brands - listed from the most to least profitable and number of stores - are: Zara, Pull Bear, Massimo Dutti, Bershka, Stradivarius, Oysho, Zara Home, and Uterque. Main markets are located in Europe (44% of sales, excluding Spain), followed by Spain (18%), Asia and "the rest of the world" (23%), and, lastly, the U.S. (15%) (Inditex 2015).

Employees in retail stores increased from 137,054 in 2014 to 152,854 in 2015. As expected, most suppliers are in Asia. Suppliers include workshops in Spain, Portugal, Morocco, Turkey, India, Bangladesh, Southeast Asia, China, Argentina, and Brazil. One of the problems in Inditex' annual report is that the company does not consider women working in sweatshops as part of the company's workforce. In fact, suppliers are mentioned in general and there's no rubric for workers or, if it does mention these workers (at the "manufacturing and logistics" category), it only considers a small part of this workforce (white collar workers directly contracted by the company). In the Inditex's last report, the company counted 1,725 suppliers, 6,298 factories (658 fabric, 317 cutting, 4,136 manufacturing, 420 dyeing and washing, 213 printing, 554 finishing) (Inditex 2015: 34).

Amancio Ortega (owner) is the main stockholder 59.29%. Gartler SL (50%) and Partler 2006 (9.28%) are the next largest holders.

As part of its corporate strategy, in 2015, Inditex opened up 330 stores, counting 7,013 stores in 88 markets. In 2014, Inditex opened up new stores in 54 countries, increasing the Group's number of stores globally to 6,683, an increase of 343 from the previous year.

⁸⁰ "This Annual Report has been drafted based on the principles of the United Nations Global Compact and the guidelines and principles of the G4 Global Reporting Initiative and the International Framework as well as those principles standards included in AA1000 APS (2008) norm for Accountability. According to these criteria, the report presents all the issues that have an economic, social and environmental impact relevant to Inditex, since they can substantially influence the evaluation and decision making of stakeholders. These issues are identified and evaluated from a materiality process that involves the main stakeholders" (Inditex 2015: 4).

A possible interpretation of Inditex's financial indicators (see graph 11 below) is that management is concentrated in HQs with a high level of outsourced supply chains. Inditex's stock market performance is also a good example of how older white men in the Global North hold power over racialized young working women in the Global South through financialization and corporate governance. Inditex's stock performance was about 15.5% higher over indexes as Ibex 35 and Euro Stoxx 50. Amancio Ortega (owner) is the main stockholder 59.29%, and Gartler SL (50%) and Partler 2006 (9.28%) are next in line. These men get rich on the backs of millions of dark and poor workers from the Global South.

Graph 11 – Inditex's performance at the stock market – Shares – comparison with Indexes (2015)



Source: Inditex Annual Report 2015. Available at: https://www.inditex.com/documents/10279/208409/Inditex_Annual_Report_2015_web.pdf/d3501c55-8e8f-4936-b8d8-0fc47a543c93. Accessed in 21 november 2016.

The board of directors reinforce the argument that power concentration has a unique profile. Inditex's board is composed of the traditional male, white, and European elite. Pablo Isla Álvarez de Tejera, once a lawyer of Spain, is today Inditex's Executive Chairman, substituting Amancio Ortega in when Ortega retired. Ortega keeps on as the company proprietary, together with his wife, Flora Pérez Marcote, and the ex-leader of Inditex's finances, José Arnau Sierra. Among other members there's Carlos Espinosa de los Monteros Bernaldo de Quirós, a figure that has been historically the directive

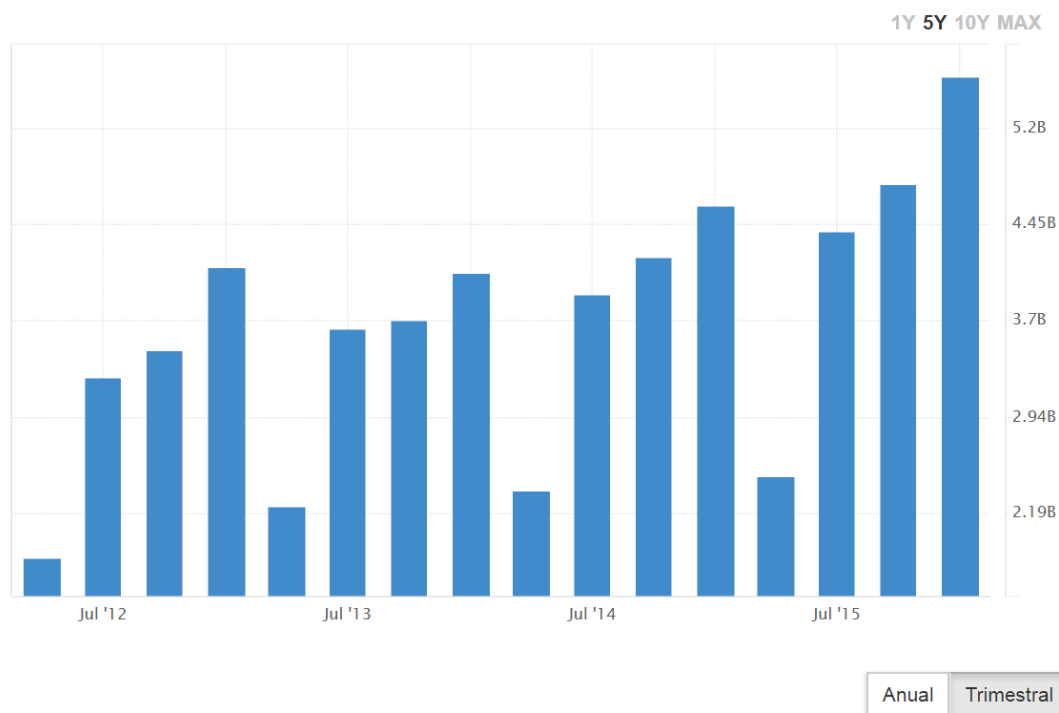
team from Inditex (Blanco and Salgado 2004; table 6 below). The board of directors own around 59,36% of the company (Inditex 2016b: annex 1).

Table 6 – Inditex’s board of directors (2015)

Name (person or company) of the Director	Representative	Type of Director	Office on the Board	Date of first appointment	Date of last appointment	Election procedure
Mr Pablo Isla Álvarez de Tejera		Executive	Executive Chairman	9-06-2005	14-07-2015	AGM
Mr Amancio Ortega Gaona		Proprietary	Ordinary member	12-06-1985	14-07-2015	AGM
Mr José Arnau Sierra		Proprietary	Deputy Chairman	12-06-2012	17-07-2012	AGM
PONTEGADEA INVERSIONES, S.L.	Ms Flora Pérez Marcote	Proprietary	Ordinary member	9-12-2015	9-12-2015	Board of Directors
Ms Irene Ruth Miller		Independent	Ordinary member	20-04-2001	19-07-2011	AGM
Mr José Luis Durán Schulz		Independent	Ordinary member	14-07-2015	14-07-2015	AGM
Mr Rodrigo Echenique Gordillo		Independent	Ordinary member	15-07-2014	15-07-2014	AGM
Mr Carlos Espinosa de los Monteros Bernaldo de Quirós		Affiliate	Ordinary member	30-05-1997	15-07-2014	AGM
Mr Emilio Saracho Rodríguez de Torres		Independent	Ordinary member	08-06-2010	14-07-2015	AGM

Source: Inditex Annual Report 2015. Available at: https://www.inditex.com/documents/10279/208409/Inditex_+Annual_Report_2015_web.pdf/d3501c55-8e8f-4936-b8d8-0fc47a543c93. Accessed in 21 november 2016.

Lending at the company have been increasing substantially recently:

Graph 12 – Inditex's commercial lenders (2012-2015) (euros)

Source: Trading Economic. Inditex - Creadores Comercial. Available at: <http://pt.tradingeconomics.com/itx:sm:trade-creditors>. Accessed on 29th April 2017.

Inditex's operations are concentrated in 12 parent companies and 13 subsidiaries through a diversity of activities and joint ventures. Sewing is not considered one of the main activities to the company:

Industria de Diseño Textil, S.A. ("Inditex"), domiciled in Spain (Avenida de la Diputación s/n Edificio Inditex, Arteixo, A Coruña), is the Parent of a group of companies, the principal activity of which consists of the distribution of fashion items, mainly clothing, footwear, accessories and household textile products. Inditex carries out its activity through various commercial formats such as Zara, Pull Bear, Massimo Dutti, Bershka, Stradivarius, Oysho, Zara Home and Uterqüe. Inditex is listed on all four Spanish stock exchanges and, together with its subsidiary companies, comprises the Inditex Group ("the Group"). Each format's commercial activity is carried out through an integrated store and on-line sales model managed directly by the companies over which Inditex exercises control through ownership of all or the majority of the share capital and voting power, with the exception of certain countries where, for various reasons, the retail selling activity is performed through franchises. Certain franchise agreements entered into by the Group include purchase options

which, if exercised, would entitle the Group to lease the premises in which the franchised stores operate and the assets associated with these stores. These options may be exercised after a certain period of time has elapsed since the signing of the franchise agreement.

The Group does not have any significant noncontrolling interests.

The Group holds joint ownership over the entities making up the Tempe Group. Based on an analysis of the contractual arrangements giving it joint control, the Group classified its ownership interest in the Tempe Group as a joint venture. The interest in the Tempe Group was accounted for using the equity method. (Inditex 2016: 176)

Inditex's main competitors are other retail companies in the fashion industry, such as: H&M, WalMart, and C&A. Inditex is the second largest company in the textile industry in term of profit margin.

Transportation, distribution, and dissemination are all outsourced, since the core activity of the company – according to itself – is to sell and not to produce products at the “Operating leases” section: “Most of the commercial premises from which the Group carries out its retail distribution activities are leased from third parties.” (Inditex 2016: 208).

Based on the brands, Inditex's customers have a lot of disposable income, might be young depending on the market share (such as Pull Bear), and seem satisfied with the company (Inditex 2016: 31). Complaints in total numbers follow the pattern of each brand size (see graph 13 below). Use of social media to promote the company is a priority Inditex takes very seriously (Inditex 2016: 97).

Graph 13 – Number of messages and calls received by the Inditex Group’s customer services team (2015)

	Forms (*)	Emails sales in store	Emails online sales	Calls sales in store	Calls online sales
Zara (**)	2,920	42,543	1,509,332	119,475	2,724,576
Pull&Bear	177	4,071	119,067	384	156,941
Massimo Dutti	243	7,441	135,803	8,387	211,478
Bershka	453	5,222	101,046	8,339	180,093
Stradivarius	378	6,066	104,672	5,107	109,451
Oysho (***)	352	n.a.	43,867	n.a.	45,586
Zara Home (***)	100	n.a.	151,905	n.a.	188,263
Uterqüe	51	2,830	17,650	2,637	27,511

(*) Complaint forms only for Spain

(**) Zara reports an additional total of 1,999,829 online chats with customers and 86,641 interactions on social networks

(***) Oysho and Zara Home combine customer services data for online and physical sales

n. a.: no applicable

Source: Inditex Annual Report 2015. Available at: https://www.inditex.com/documents/10279/208409/Inditex_+Annual_Report_2015_web.pdf/d3501c55-8e8f-4936-b8d8-0fc47a543c93. Accessed on November 2016.

It’s worth mentioning one problem much aligned with the argument of global governance influencing contemporary international struggles and social movements, is the social behavior of the company internationally. First, the company asserts that it *is* aligned with the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and then mentions marginally that it *is promoting* studies of alignment. It’s hard to imagine this is anything but a public relations move since SDGs are non-binding and aspirational (UNDP 2017; Fukuda-Parr 2016). As a matter of fact, Inditex’s “Strategic Plan for a Stable and Sustainable Supply Chain 2014-2018” is full of items mentioned at the “governance struggles” in this dissertation and the “problems with private agreements” (some pages ahead): they are all non-binding and aspirational. They are all *principles* that companies can claim to “aspire” (Inditex 2015: 38) but not actually reach in practice, such as:

- United Nations Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights of 2011;
- Sustainable Development Goals approved by General Assembly in 2015;
- The United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights;

- United Nations Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights, which developed the “Protect, Respect and Remedy” Framework principles informally known as the Ruggie Framework;
- Principles of the United Nations Global Compact;
- Fundamental labour standards deriving from the Conventions and Recommendations of the International Labour Organization;
- ETI Base Code of the Ethical Trading Initiative;
- Framework Agreement with IndustriALL Global Union.

These regulatory frames are a mixture of Health and Safety, living and working, and environmental⁸¹ measures.

Finally, the company’s policies for employers are directed mostly to protect their white collar workforce. There’s no mention of outsourced workers or suppliers. Their outlined “Developing *everybody’s* talent” (emphasis added) policies reach workers at stores (87% of the workforce), central services (7%), logistics (5%) and a gray area of manufacturing (1%). They include programs such as InTalent (a system for updating CVs), Project Go! (aimed at young workers, training for internal teams, Attracting talents (collection of information from candidates), remuneration policies (profit-sharing), INet APP (tech app development), equal opportunities program, Occupational Health and Safety (with a platform of information).

⁸¹ Safe to wear and Green to wear, Forest Product Policy, Animal Welfare Policy are some other specific environmental frames.

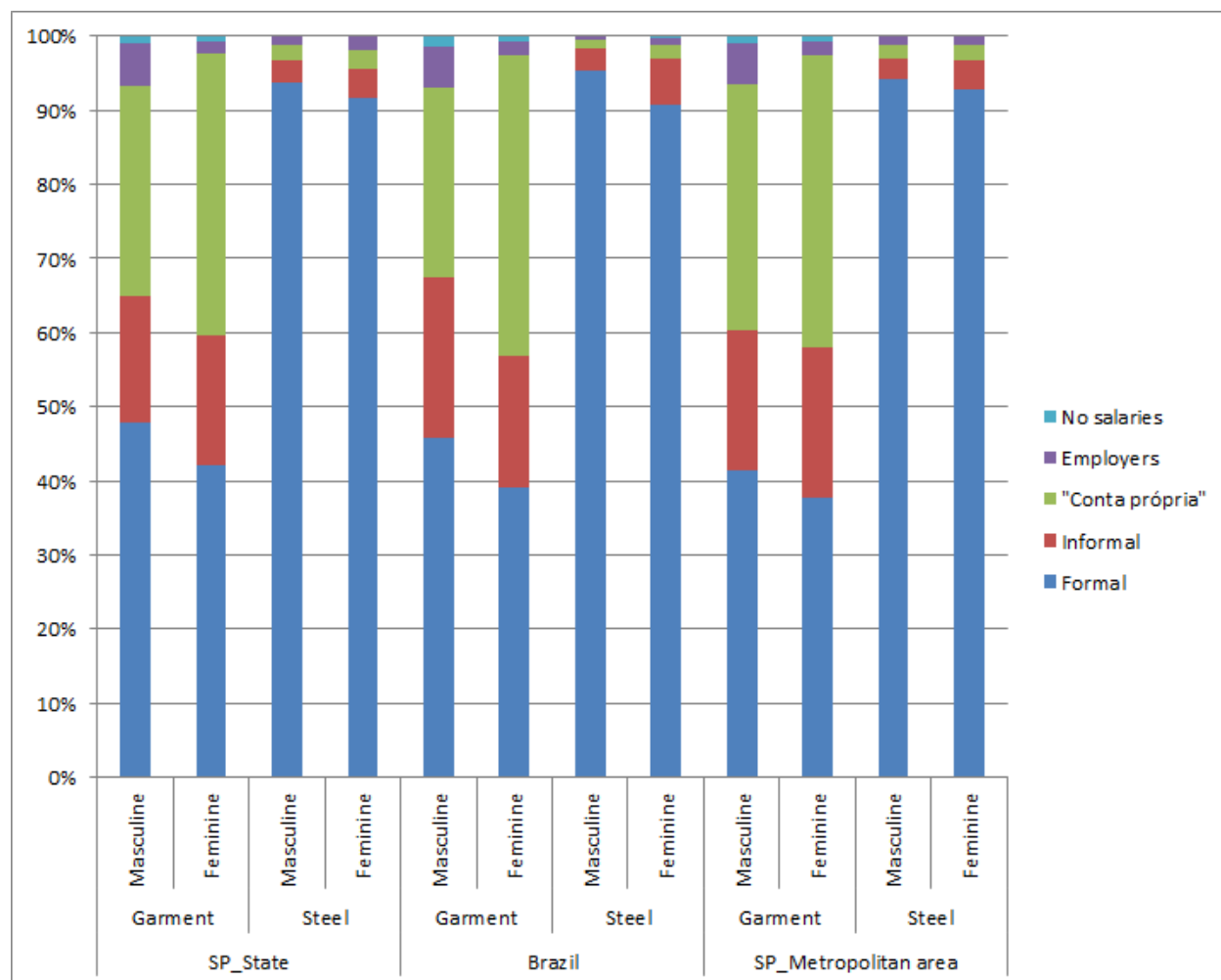
3.2 Workers' profiles⁸²

When considering gender as our sole population of workers for both sectors in the SP metropolitan region, as expected there are substantially more workers in the garment industry (92.95%, or 188.431 workers) than in the steel (7.05% or 14.287) sector.

There's a much larger percentage of women workers in the garment sector (71.58% of our sample for all sectors), followed by men in the garment sector (21.37%), men in the steel sector (6.38%), and women in the steel sector (0.67%). As a matter of fact, the most impressionable data between sectors is stability. Levels of formality (see graph 14 below) in the steel sector are much higher than in the garment sector, even for Brazilian levels of formality/ informality. Therefore, indirectly, it's also possible to conclude that, at least between the sectors analyzed, there's a direct correlation between gender and stability at work, since garment job positions are predominantly female and the steel job positions are predominantly male:

⁸² The source for worker's profiles is the 2010 Brazilian Census. It's the most extensive populational data in Brazil. Data was collected for each sector (garment and steel) and by gender (male and female - the Census doesn't collect data for other gender identities). Data was also collected for Brazil, Sao Paulo state, and Sao Paulo metropolitan region to show that the pattern are relatively the same for all regions. The level chosen to analyze data was Sao Paulo metropolitan region since it's the region most of the fieldwork was developed.

Graph 14 - (In)formality and gender in the garment and steel industries (Brazil, SP state and SP metropolitan region, 2010)

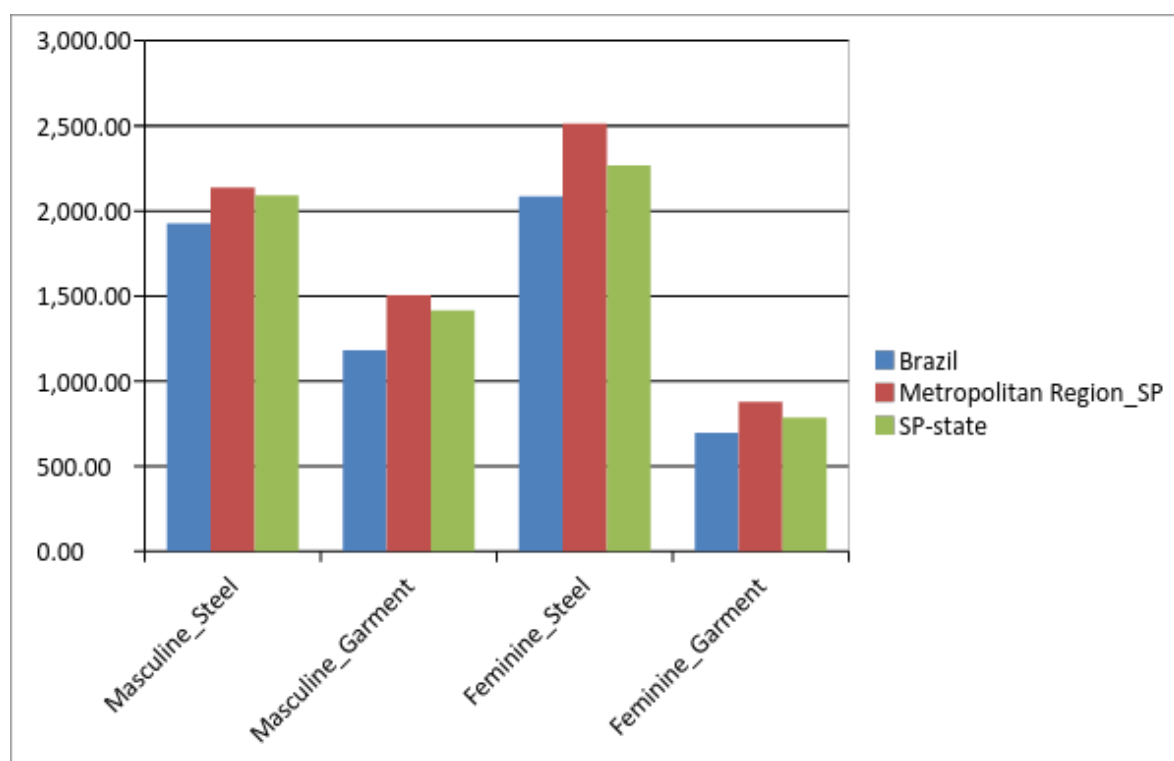


Source: Brazilian Census, 2010.

Wages are, on average, low(er) in the garment industry and high(er) in the steel industry. The gap is higher if we compare gender and wages across industries. Men's wages in the steel industry are substantially higher than in the garment industry. Men in the steel industry earn an average of R\$ 2,137.71 per month, while women in the garment sector earn R\$ 877.48 per month. Thus, women in the garment sector earn 41.05% of what male steel workers earn. The gap is not so high between both

industries if we were to only compare men's salaries: men's wages in the garment sector are on average 70.44% of men's wages in the steel sector. Women's wages in the steel sector are the highest among all four categories analyzed (men's and women's in both sector) – R\$ 2.513,45/ month, likely due to the level of women's formal education in the steel sector.

Graph 15 - Wages and gender in the garment and steel industries (Brazil, SP state and SP metropolitan region, 2010)

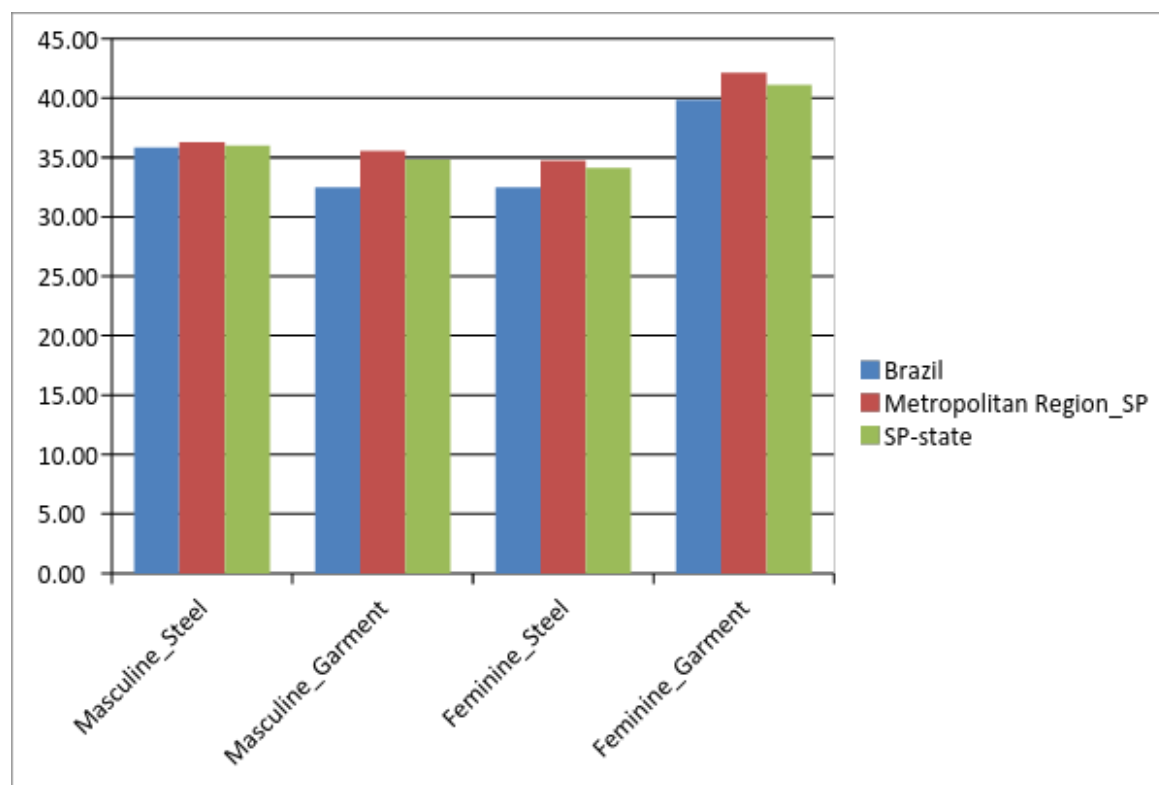


Source: Brazilian Census, 2010.

The average age of workers in the steel sector is 36.3 years old. The relatively young age of the workforce in this Brazilian sector is probably due a technical high school attended by working class' children, the *Serviço Nacional de Aprendizagem*

Industrial (SENAI, or National Institute for Industrial Learning). It is interesting to note that historically young male workers have been graduating in this course, which demonstrates that the gendered division of labor is normalized and encouraged at an early age in Brazilian working class families. Women workers, in turn, are on average 42.1 years old. The Brazilian garment labor force is deviant from international patterns for the following probable reasons: First, the Brazilian Census probably reaches more vertical factories than immigrant workers with no Brazilian documents in small workshops throughout cities – a more precarious and younger workforce, as will be shown in surveys among immigrant workers included in this research. Second, presumably since these workers are employed in vertical factories, they are more experienced and are better employed.

Graph 16 – Age and gender in the garment and steel industries (Brazil, SP state and SP metropolitan region, 2010)

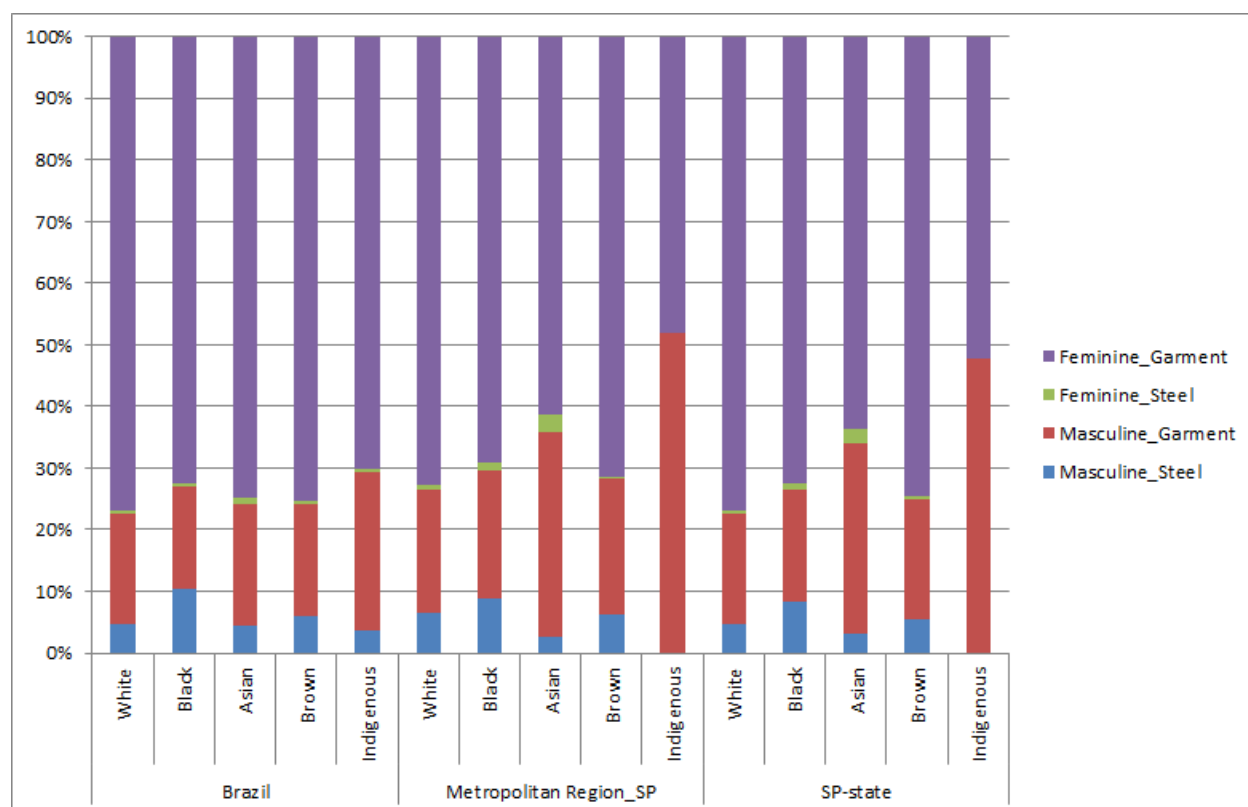


Source: Brazilian Census, 2010.

Regarding race⁸³, it's worth mentioning that race in Brazil is an issue of auto-perception. People usually try to identify race through phenotypic presentation and often try to pass for white, since being white carries subjective privileges may lead to better opportunities including employment opportunities. People self-identifying as white are most prevalent in the steel sector. After white workers, next most common representative group are *pardos* workers (people with lighter skin but not white, or lighter mixed-race people). Black workers are the next most common representative population, then “yellow” workers (a term which shows the historical role of Koreans in the garment industry), and indigenous workers.

⁸³Proportional data (%) for Sao Paulo Metropolitan Region only.

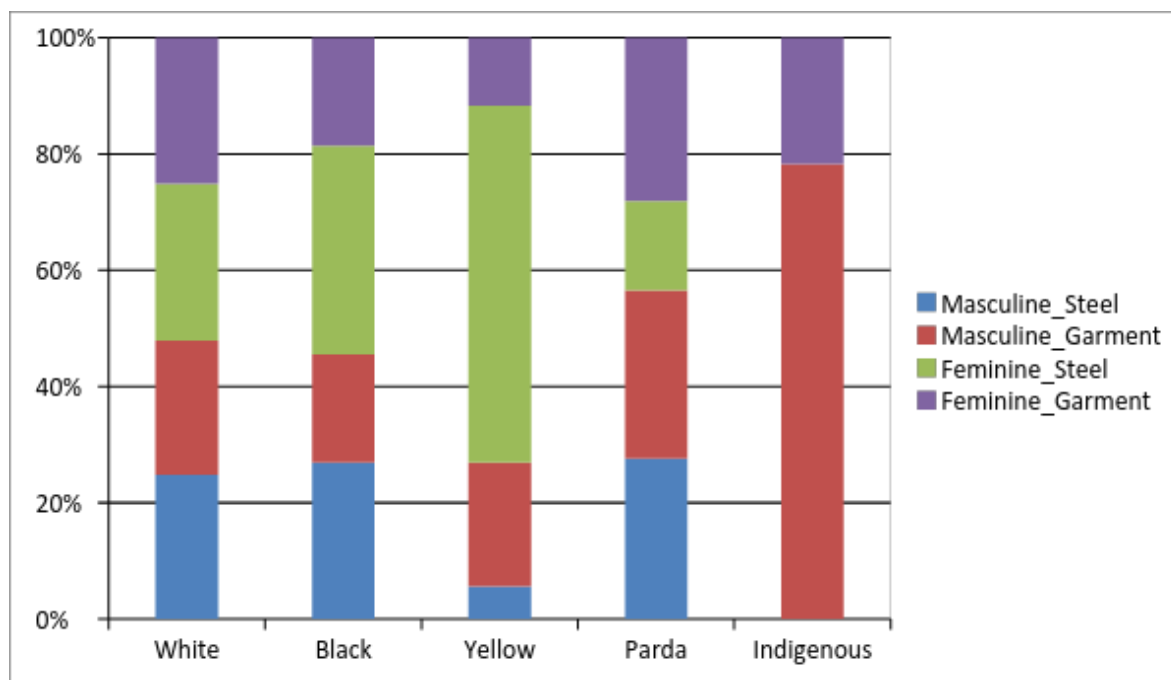
Graph 17 – Race and gender in the garment and steel industries (Brazil, SP state and SP metropolitan region, 2010)



Source: Brazilian Census, 2010.

Indigenous workers are significant only in the garment sector and in the Sao Paulo metropolitan region, due to international flows of immigrant workers from Bolivian and Paraguayan rural areas to Sao Paulo city. If we look at immigrant workers, most are Bolivian: there are 42% Bolivian men and 10% Bolivian women in the total indigenous or parda population in the garment industry in SP Metropolitan area.

Graph 18 – Indigenous workers in the garment industry x race and gender in the garment and steel industries (Brazil, SP state and SP metropolitan region, 2010)



Source: Brazilian Census, 2010.

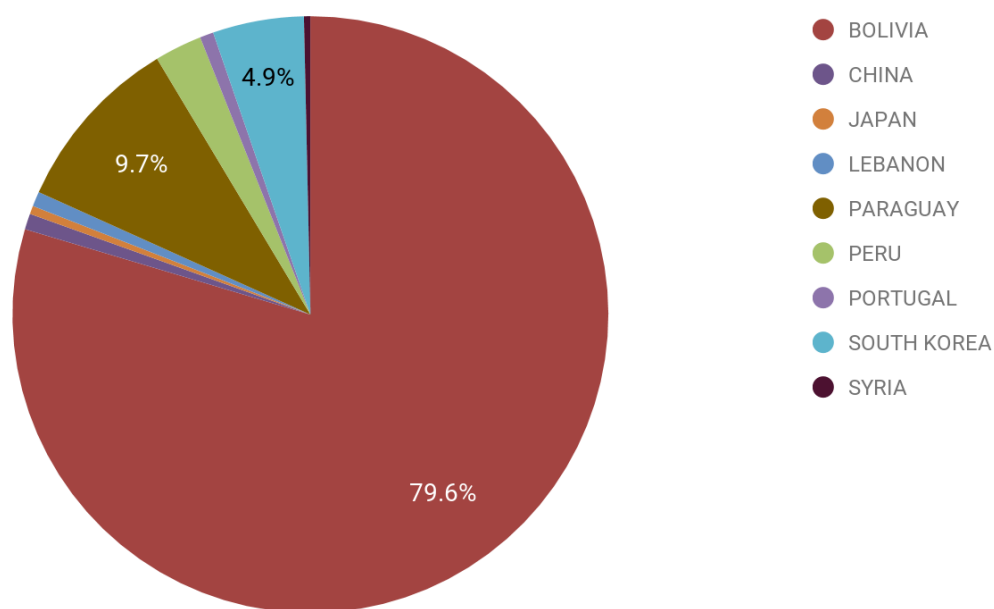
3.2.1 Gender, ethnicity, nationality and labor in the garment sector⁸⁴

Bolivian immigrants working in Brazilian sweatshops remain an extremely concentrated precarious demographic for their unique position in a specific industry or global supply chain, similar to Latino workers in the garment industry in Los Angeles (Bonacich 2007), or Peruvian domestic workers in L.A. or Chile (Hondagneu-Sotelo 2007; Staab and Hil Maher 2006), or Nicaraguan workers in the agricultural industry in

⁸⁴ This text is based on a fieldwork in São Paulo city with Bolivian women to a research provided to Solidarity Center. Acknowledges to the Solidarity Center for providing funding for the research. Acknowledges also for Mark Anner, Tom Egan, Angela Araújo, Alexandre Barbosa, Joyce Sinakhone and other contributors that provided the conditions for the final text that resulted in this modified text.

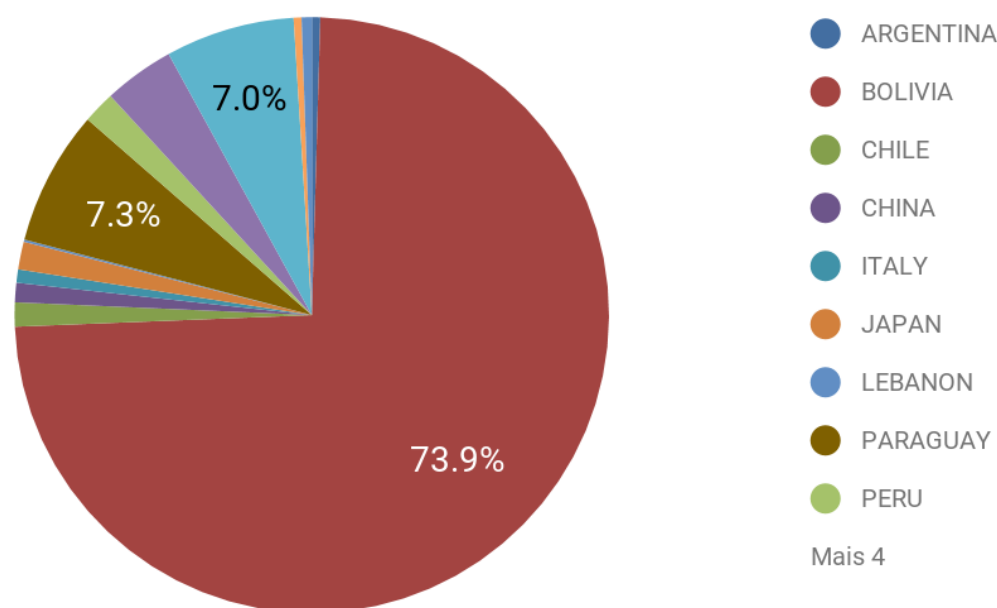
Costa Rica (Lee 2010). According to official data (IBGE), the highest ‘alien’ population in sweatshops in São Paulo’s garment industry is that of Bolivians: official data demonstrates that most Bolivian migrants are machine operators (69 percent) (IBGE/Censo, 2010). Graphs below illustrate the relevance of this occupation among Bolivian workers.

Graph 19 – Bolivian workers in the garment industry (SP metropolitan region, 2010) – men



Source: IBGE (Censo 2010).

Graph 20 – Bolivian workers in the garment industry (SP metropolitan region, 2010) – women



Source: IBGE (Censo 2010).

Most of the unionized national labor force (92 percent) in this industry is female according to the Seamstresses Union of São Paulo (*Sindicatodas Costureiras de São Paulo e Osasco*) (verbal information⁸⁵). But in the Bolivian population, the situation is flipped: men are around 55.57 percent of the workforce (IBGE, Censo 2010).

Because of their unique struggle, Bolivian women workers in the Brazilian garment sector is an illustrative case to show the relevance of intersectionality in analyzing a social subject through emancipation and identity politics in union organizations as a relevant tool of representation. Therefore, although Bolivian workers might not be a significant statistical population, it is a crucial case study of a relevant sociological experience for aggregating specific social characteristics.

⁸⁵Provided by the vice president.

Furthermore, intersectionality is also a useful concept to examine this particular labor market. Due to workers' "undocumented"⁸⁶ status, their vulnerability positions them at the very bottom of supply chains since undocumented workers in Brazil are forced to work informally. The Brazilian *Carteira de Trabalho* requires workers to provide documentation to access formal jobs. Therefore, Bolivian women workers are more likely to end up in jobs with lower incomes and poor working conditions, when compared to their Brazilian male counterparts within the same industry. While highly qualified unionized Brazilian women workers make R\$ 1,365.70 per month in workshifts of 8 hours per day (Seamstresses Union of São Paulo 2017), Bolivian workers make around R\$ 705.79 per month in workshifts of 12.96 hours per day (fieldwork 2013). Cases of Bolivian workers subjected to modern slavery uncovered wages as low as R\$ 274 to R\$ 460 per month, degrading working conditions, detainment for lack of documentation, and deportation. As demonstrated below, cases of modern slavery in Sao Paulo sweatshops are frequent within this population. It's worth mentioning that living and working in the same space is a common finding among these workers.

In addition to drastic levels of inequality between national and undocumented workers, there are differences among Bolivian workers as a result of gender, age, origin/ ethnicity, and marital status (which can result in higher incomes)⁸⁷ *within the Bolivian community*.

Male Bolivians are often the first to migrate, and as leaders of diaspora, frequently reign over Bolivian as sweatshop owners (fieldwork; IBGE 2010)⁸⁸. So, labor relations in sweatshops are permeated with asymmetric power relationships from the very beginning. In fact, when migrants were asked why they chose to come to Brazil instead of another country, previous family or friend-related ties was the most common

⁸⁶ It's worth mentioning that I join the assumption that "no human being is illegal", which is, people have documents that may not be valid in another country, but they *do* have identities, humanities, and the right to have dignity.

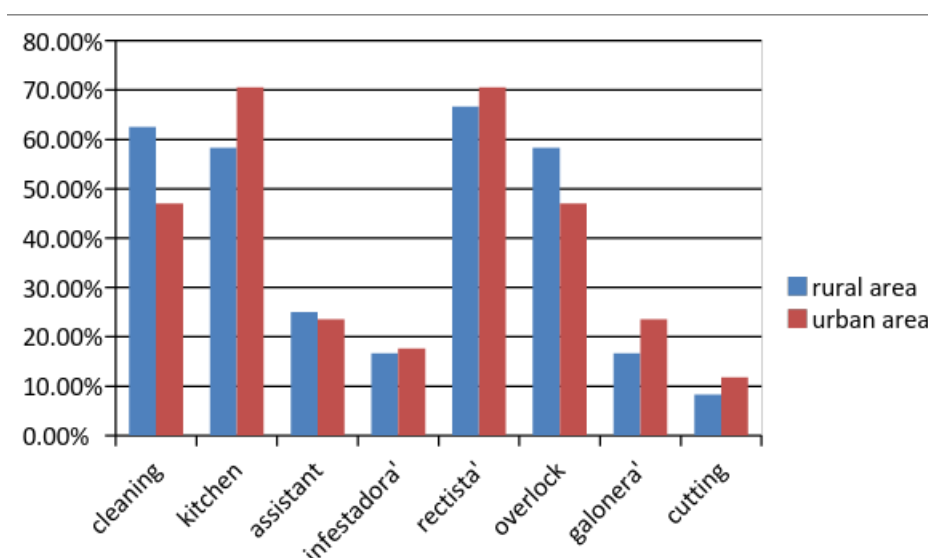
⁸⁷ Our fieldwork conducted interviews with 72 Bolivian women workers in the garment industry. On average, these workers are 30 years old, mostly from La Paz (67 percent), earn \$302.21 per month (or 73 cents per piece), have work shifts from 7 a.m. to 10 p.m. averaging 12.96 hours a day.

⁸⁸ Koreans used to be sweatshop owners, but this demography is changing.

response (60 percent). Other reasons given were economic issues (17 percent) and professional recommendations (6 percent). Around 90 percent of workers live and work in the same location, usually within a house. Most women (64 percent) are informal workers, more likely to accept a heavy workload and longer shifts due to their vulnerable conditions.

Now we see how family planning is connected to diaspora, since Bolivian immigrants coming to Brazil are often women in relationships (46 percent), with children (58.33 percent of them), followed by unmarried (37 percent) and divorced women (14 percent).

Women from rural areas usually have more children, lower levels of formal education, and make up the majority of the immigrant populations. This intersection of variables leads rural women to struggle looking for fair work with reasonable pay. They end up occupying jobs that carry low social status with even less financial compensation (see graph below).

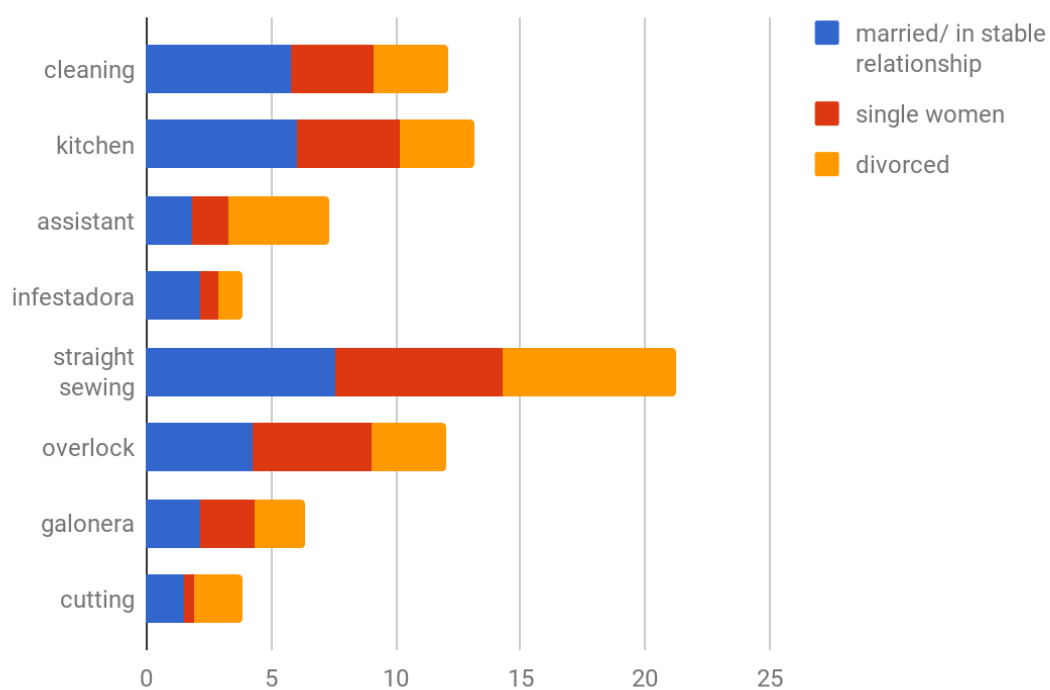
Graph 21 – Productive and reproductive work according to origin – women⁸⁹

Source: fieldwork data.

Another explanation for such low wages is workers' marital status. On one hand, women in relationships spend more time doing unpaid work - such as cooking and cleaning (see graph 22 below). On the other hand, their positions enjoy higher status among peers (such as *rectista*) (see graph below) and they are sometimes allowed to take a break from work because of the companionship and financial help of their partners. A final variation is age, probably due to experience: women in relationships are on average 33 years old, divorced women are 27 and single women, 26 years old.

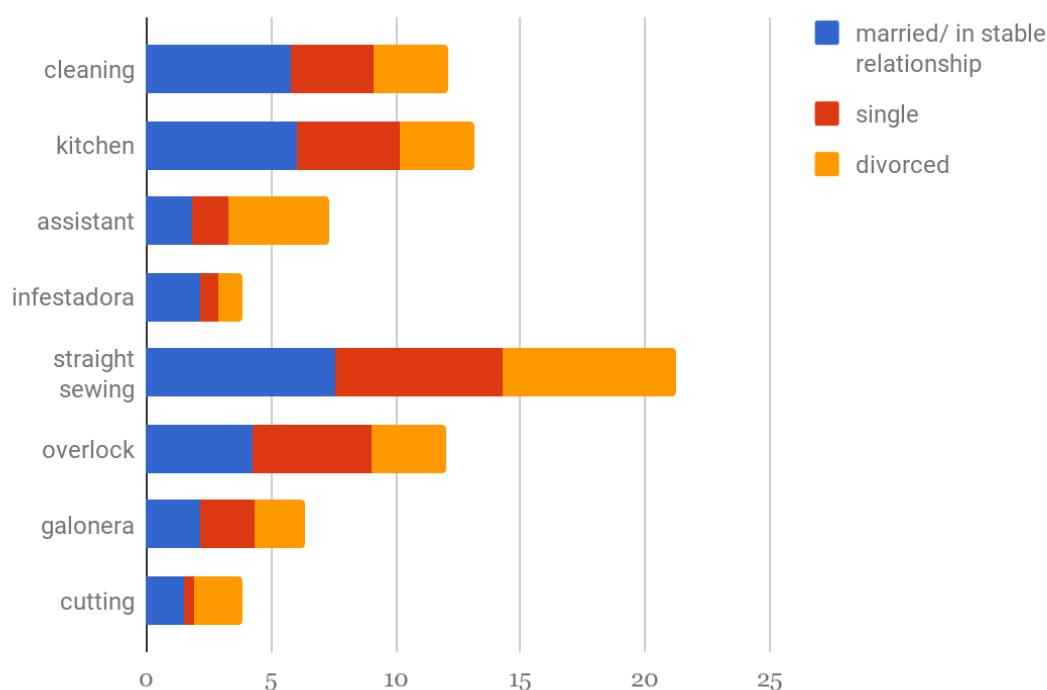
⁸⁹ There are different statuses in sweatshops depending on workers' occupations. "Rectistas" are the ones with higher status and sew straightly: it is supposed great ability in the profession to be a good "rectista". "Infestadoras/Enfestadoras" are responsible for a critical phase of production process, since they orient wires, alignment, filters to block defects in the process. "Overloquistas/Overlockistas" are responsible for either normal sewing and finishing the edges. "Galoneras" are capable of sewing either products with elasticity and smaller items, such as collars, sheaths and etc.

**Graph 22 – Reproductive work according to marital status and children – women
(proportion of interviewed women)**



Source: fieldwork data.

Graph 23 – Productive and reproductive work according to marital status and children – women (proportion of interviewed women)



Source: fieldwork data.

The concept of a gendered division of labor is useful in understanding the structure of Brazilian sweatshops. Traditional “men’s” activities show lower employment levels for women, such as driving (13.15 percent) and payroll (18.42 percent)⁹⁰.

In our fieldwork, other forms of discrimination were common, such as prejudice faced by immigrant children at school, fear of deportation due to police bias, Brazilian prejudice of the Bolivian community, preference in enrolling nationals in the

⁹⁰ In our interviews narratives locating gender asymmetries were latent, such as “men work more often as *rectistas*” (the best paid function) while “women as *overlock*” (the worst paid function), “women work more and earns less”, and “women work much more men”.

national health system, challenges in formalizing, and aggressive non-traditional approaches to Bolivian women experiencing childbirth⁹¹ (fieldwork 2013).

In sum, Bolivian garment workers are an illuminating case of intersectionality or social markers of difference determining their social status and remunerative conditions. As demonstrated throughout this section, Bolivian women workers access less favorable living and working conditions compared to their female Brazilian and male Bolivian counterparts in work that is already precarious and underpaid. Additionally, young, single, rural women are even more vulnerable when compared to their female Bolivian counterparts.

Data shows, thus, the relevance of representing specific identities based on variables of nationality, gender, and age, among others.

3.3 Design of the Sector

3.3.1 Low or high technical education of workers

The international political economy cheapens the life and work of women, Brown or Black, immigrant, and young workers both globally and within Brazil. This conclusion might be unexpected if intersectionality isn't analyzed and aligned with other social phenomena but, as we see, all of these variables have an effect on access to fair compensation, even the level of formal education plays a role in the Bolivian immigrant experience. Access to knowledge is intimately interrelated with social advancement.

Education is a source of bargaining power since it's hard to substitute job experience with technical knowledge. But what exactly do we mean when we talk about knowledge in a specific industry? In a hospital, doctors likely get paid the highest salary,

⁹¹ Brazil is the world leader of cesarian sections: 8,5 in every 10 are cesarian sections (BBC 2016). Bolivian women are more likely to give birth in traditional and natural ways. This violence led to some case reports of women giving birth at home.

while cleaners, and possibly earn the lowest wages. However, if we consider that a hospital cannot function without regularly cleaning and disinfecting of the premises, janitorial work should be considered of paramount value. Additionally, if we consider what is harder work - pushing around a heavy mob or gently stitching a wound - we may even up with the same conclusion, that cleaning work can be brutally exhausting. ?

Entire nations were constructed on the backs of Black and Brown workers in fields and houses - caring for the children of rich, white landowners - but because the logic of colonialism, these workers were seen as less than human and their work was undervalued. As a result, contemporary harvesting and care work are seen as holding lower social status and, the people who engage in this work, as having a poor work skills. Most countries pay better wages for technical work because colonialism was a global project— it's the technocracy of (post-) modern times – but can any nation survive without access to food and care for children? In this system, anything deemed “women’s work” is undervalued, unrewarded, and consequently underpaid because it was Black women who often used to perform this work and their social status was marked by a racialized sexism. Currently, we can look to certain labor circuits, such as the care economy, to see this play out. Women’s care work doesn’t just affect the construction of female identity but it has a tremendous effect on masculinity formation. Cooper’s (2000) study on men’s work illustrates this point:

What I discovered through my examination of these men’s work and family lives was the emergence of a newly constituted masculinity that coincides with the new way work is organized in the new economy. Two questions addressing both sides of the work-family equation flowed from this discovery: How does this new masculinity articulate with processes of labor control? And, how does it articulate with processes of family life, particularly fathering? Thus, my findings are twofold. First, they show that as a gendered construct, this new masculinity functions as a key mechanism of control in high-tech workplaces that rely on identity-based forms of control. Second, they show that the successful enactment of this new masculinity shapes how these fathers both think about and manage their work and family lives (380).

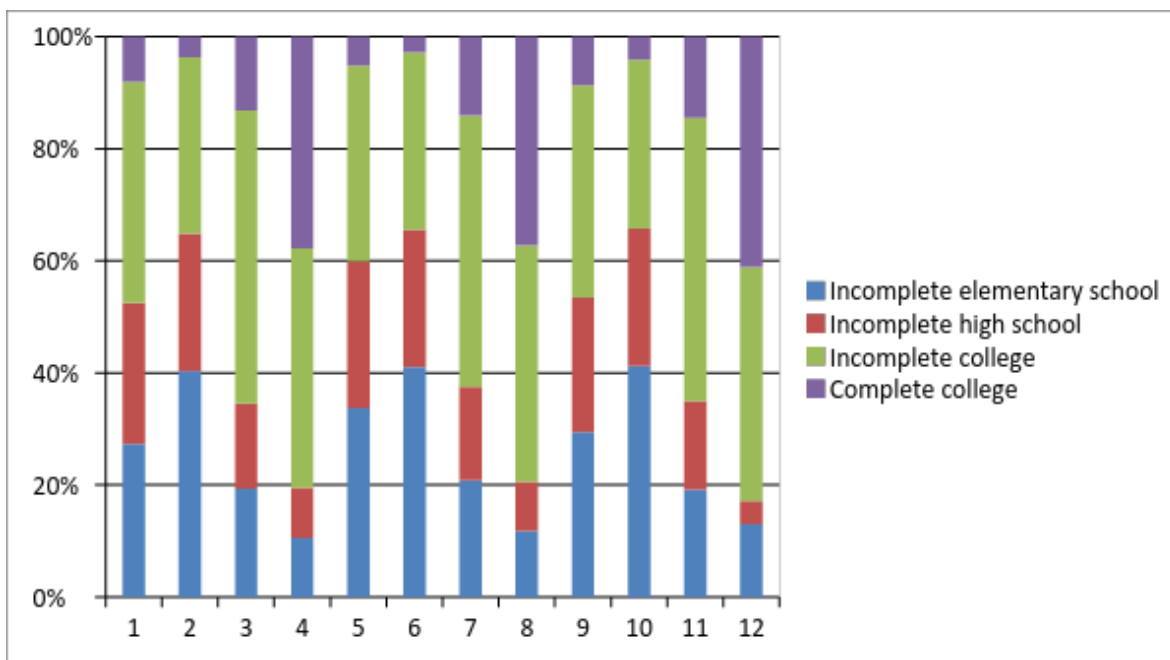
In the garment sector, technical expertise is transferred from mothers to daughters. Sewing is considered essentially feminine. In contrast, in the steel sector boys go to a technical high school to learn specific tasks in a production line (this fact

doesn't mean that the garment sector doesn't have unique tasks, steps and production lines as well⁹²). These schools, known as the Social Service of Industry (*Serviço Social da Indústria*, or SESI), are financed by companies and their industrial allies, especially the National Confederation of Industries (*Confederação Nacional da Indústria*, or CNI). The Brazilian labor model is quite different from the German, in which union organizations have an active role in technical schools, including the political formation of workers. Let's explore what that means for the working class in Brazil.

As expected, a quick look at the Brazilian National Census proportionally, workers in the steel sector are more formally educated than in the garment sector. The steel sector has proportionally the highest levels of formal education with workers having completed college or having some college classes under their belt; while the garment sector has one of the lowest reported levels of formal education with workers not completing high school and many not completing elementary school. This finding can help us to understand the relationship between how male knowledge is legitimized as "real knowledge" (and, therefore, must be well-paid) and income. It's interesting to note that, although levels of formal education are higher in the female population nationally, at the garment industry men are better formally educated, probably since men are bosses in sweatshops. It's also interesting to note that female education within the steel sector reports the highest levels of all of them. Gender studies literature correlates women with more formal education (Carvalho 2003; Rosemberg 2001) with industries that require education as a prerequisite of employment.

⁹²*Cortadora* (cutting), *galonera*, *overlockista*, *rectista*, *infestadora* and assistant are some of the tasks in a sweatshop.

**Graph 24 - Formal education and gender in the garment and steel industries
(Brazil, SP state and SP metropolitan region, 2010)**



Source: Brazilian Census, 2010.

3.3.2 Mobility of production plants

Capital mobility and gendered industries are also closely related. For instance: as shown, there are more workers in the garment industry than in the steel sector. The steel industry is male-dominated, thus technical knowledge is considered “real knowledge”, and technological advancement could mean those that do not know the technology are left behind. Steel industry moguls would love to replace laborers with machines so knowing how to work machines becomes a strategy for keeping your job. This means the male-dominated industry in our study tends to be intensive in capital. In the female-dominated garment sector, on the other hand, average salaries are much lower than salaries in the steel sector. Since women learn how to sew at a very young age usually from a female relative, they don’t have the kind of knowledge that is

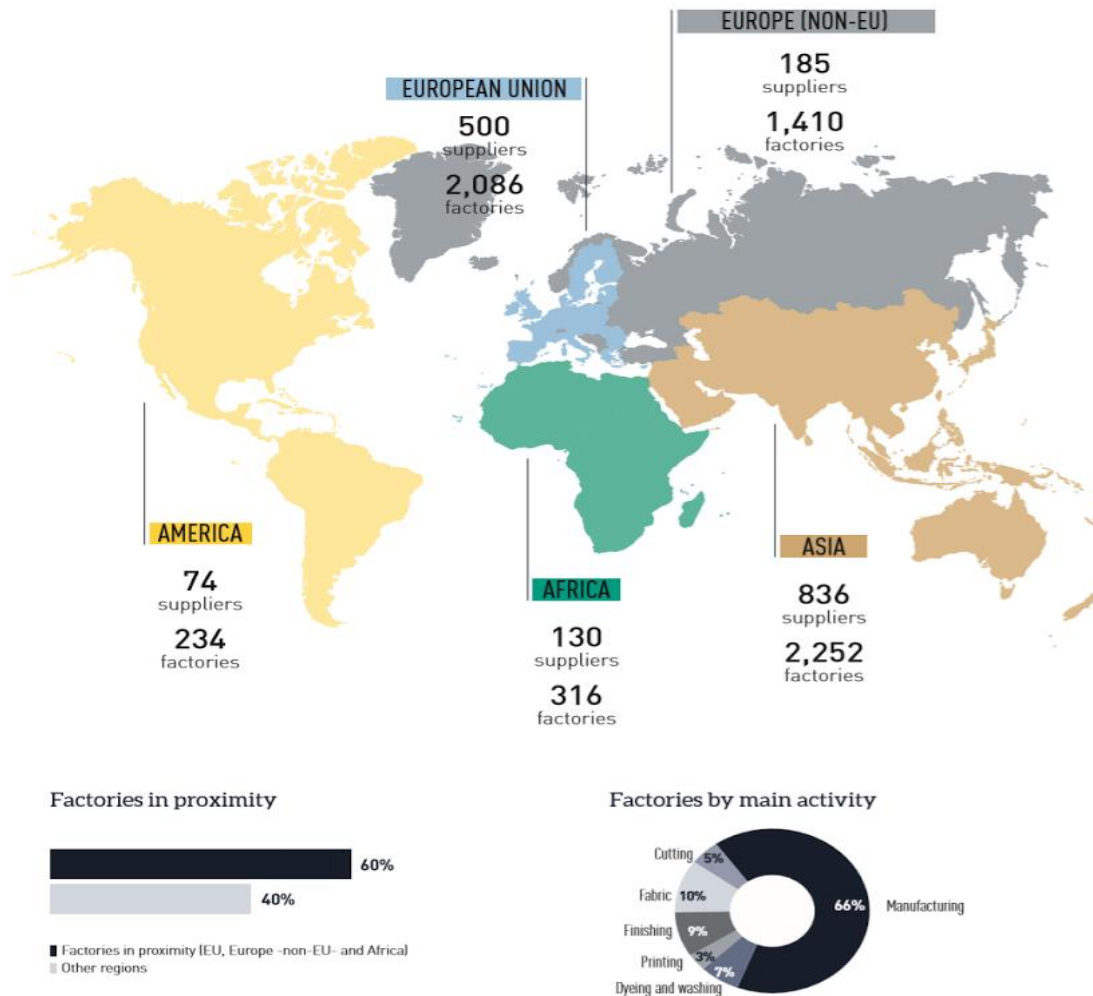
considered “real knowledge”, so their expertise is undervalued in the labor market. A female-dominated industry tends to be intensive in labor.

As wages are based on the perceived legitimacy of what kind of technical work can be performed and what is considered technical work in the first place, the social construction of the idea of male work informs access to tech training, better wages and working conditions. Although I couldn't find case studies showing a clear correlation between gendered labor and capital mobility (in fact, this is one of the innovative arguments of this research), there are studies relating, for instance, mobility of factors of production (Krugman 1993), such as capital and labor. This assertion obviously doesn't ignore other researches about factors of production, such as international trade (Keohane 1996), technology, and how technology impacts trade (Purvis 1972), models of production (Hill and Méndez 1983), minimum wage rates and factor-price equalization (Neary 1985).

The logic of my argument is simple: if it's expensive to set up a production plant, which is, if it's costly and laboring to negotiate a space, construct a building or facility, invest in “technical” labor expertise – blue collar and white collar workers –, machines, logistics, and others aspects, companies are less likely to move easily from one place to the other. Taking our industries as case studies, we can imagine that it's much harder, not to mention more costly, to move an entire steel facility than to move some sewing machines from a small sweatshop to another which results in less bargaining power for garment workers. This issue also leads to a relatively more fragmented GSC in the textile industry compared to the steel industry.

A quick review of the locational distribution within these two industries shows how this argument presents itself and thus impacts the leverage workers have to pressure companies. In the garment sector, at Inditex, there are almost 10 thousand contributors - among suppliers and factories - throughout the world (see map 1), not to mention offices, training centers, subsidiaries, and franchises (Inditex 2017).

Map 1 – Number of suppliers with purchase and factories in, Inditex (2015)



Source: Inditex Annual Report 2015. Available at: [https://www.inditex.com/documents/10279/208409/Inditex +Annual Report 2015 web.pdf/d3501c55-8e8f-4936-b8d8-0fc47a543c93](https://www.inditex.com/documents/10279/208409/Inditex+Annual+Report+2015+web.pdf/d3501c55-8e8f-4936-b8d8-0fc47a543c93). Accessed in 21 november 2016.

In the steel sector, at Gerdau, we see in Map 2 below, a more concentrated global supply chain. Company operations are concentrated in the Americas with around 229 units *including* commercial units, downstream operations, headquarters, iron ore extraction areas, offices, power plants, private port terminals, retail facilities, scrap metal collection and processing facilities, and steel mills.

Map 2 – Gerdau's units (2017)



Source: Gerdau (2017). **Our units.** Available at: <https://www.gerdau.com/en/who-we-are/global-presence>. Accessed 27th April, 2017.

As argued in this research, it's harder to organize fragmented industries, since:

The international articulation [of union organizations] is especially relevant when is capable of reaching the world's companies' centers of decision. Active labor unionists in union networks are habile in approaching what the literature names "boomerang effect", through which mobilization of international contacts is a tool to reach local gains. More than the source of privileged information, the relation with unions in the company's headquarters opens ways to influence – even if sometimes indirectly – the world direction of a multinational (Framil 2015: 14, my translation⁹³).

⁹³ Original text: "A articulação internacional é especialmente relevante quando consegue atingir os centros mundiais de decisão da empresa. Os sindicalistas engajados nas redes são hábeis em utilizar o que a literatura chama de "política bumerangue", através da qual a mobilização de contatos

3.3.3 Company's origin

A company's country of origin directly impacts the level of regulation practiced and thus access to workers' rights. The end of the Second World War brought to Europe the so-called welfare state, achieved through social struggles and effective working class participation in framing regulations and rights⁹⁴. These initial regulations gave rise to others, including at the regional and international level. As a matter of fact, social rights (and workers' rights) are higher not only in Europe due to national laws, but also regionally as the aforementioned European Workers' Councils, and internationally, through tools such as the International Framework Agreements and organizations as the ILO. In fact, a quick review at the updated information on global agreements (Global Unions, 2017) show that most of them are European at IndustriALL and all other Global Unions.

Table 7 - International Framework Agreements at IndustriALL

<u>PSA Group</u>	<u>AngloGold</u>	<u>GDF SUEZ</u>	<u>Arcelor</u>	<u>Mizuno</u>
<u>Siemens</u>	<u>Norske Skog</u>	<u>Indesit</u>	<u>Brunel</u>	<u>Tchibo</u>
<u>Petrobras</u>	<u>Eni</u>	<u>DaimlerChrysler</u>	<u>PSA Peugeot Citroën</u>	<u>SAAB</u>
<u>Umicore</u>	<u>SCA</u>	<u>Volkswagen</u>	<u>Aker Aker</u>	<u>H&M</u>
<u>RAG</u>	<u>Lukoil</u>	<u>Leoni</u>	<u>Umicore</u>	<u>Norsk Hydro</u>
<u>Statoil</u>	<u>Edf</u>	<u>GEA</u>	<u>Vallourec</u>	<u>ThyssenKrupp</u>
<u>Freudenberg</u>	<u>Lafarge</u>	<u>SKE</u>	<u>Electrolux</u>	<u>Evonik</u>
<u>Endesa</u>	<u>Rhodia</u>	<u>Rheinmetall</u>	<u>Inditex SA</u>	<u>Gamesa</u>
<u>Bosch</u>	<u>Renault</u>	<u>EADS</u>	<u>MAN SE</u>	<u>ENEL</u>
<u>Prym</u>	<u>BMW</u>	<u>Röchling</u>	<u>Ford</u>	<u>SOLVAY</u>

Source: Global Unions (2017). **Framework Agreements.** Available at: <http://www.global-unions.org/+framework-agreements-+.html?lang=en>. Accessed in April, 28th, 2017.

internacionais é utilizada para conquistar ganhos locais. Além de fonte de informação privilegiada, a relação com o sindicato do país sede da empresa abre o caminho para influenciar, ainda que às vezes de forma indireta, a direção mundial da transnacional”.

⁹⁴ Which has nothing to do with lists of better *companies* to work (Forbes, 2016)

As a result, there's the so-called social dialogue at a European (Spanish) company Inditex and not at the Brazilian company Gerdau. In fact, Inditex bears the costs of its international union network and Gerdau, does not (verbal information⁹⁵). This is not to say, however, that Inditex achieves more gains than Gerdau. As argued extensively in this research, structural dimensions of GSC are stronger determinants of workers' empowerment at international union networks (see GSC and sources of power derived item). In any case, it's worth pointing out a company's origin is an important variable in informing regulatory framework and rights.

3.3.4 Buyer-driven and producer-driven commodity chains

In this research, I argue that global commodity chains (GCC) or global supply chains (GSC) are one of the main factors conditioning the relative success of an internal union network. As I've argued, the garment industry is more precarious than the steel industry, so union movements - whether or not their reach is internationally felt - are designed accordingly. The garment sector is framed through a paternalistically top-down institutional arrangement that can disempower workers at the bottom of the division of labor. The steel sector, on the other hand, is framed by a bottom-up institutional arrangement that can give workers more of a voice.

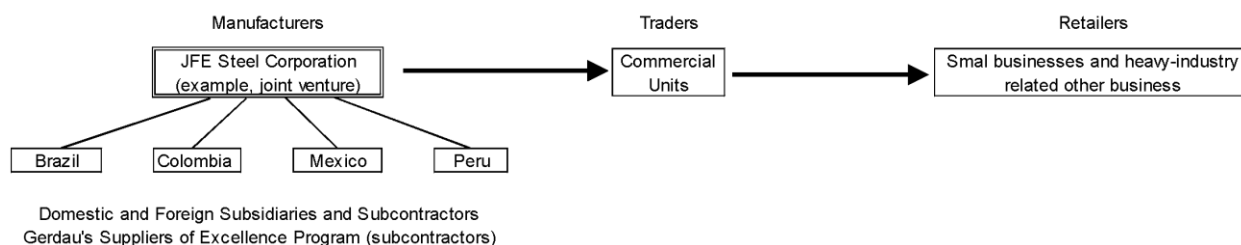
To truly understand how this materializes in international industries, let's look at the supply chain of multinational corporations. Research by Gary Gereffi (1994) and his associates remains one of the most updated studies on the issue. According to professor Gereffi, GCC/GSC are responsible for production systems through linking economic activities of firms to technological and organizational networks and coordinated trade. Furthermore, GSC are responsible for integrating activities dispersed internationally, such as input-output structure (increasing added value into products - value chains), territoriality (of production and distribution), and governance structure

⁹⁵Interview with Gerdau's World Committee's International Coordinator - May 2014.

(authorities and other relationships based on power capable of determining the allocation of financial, material, and human resources through a chain).

A central point for distinguishing Inditex from Gerdau's GSC is the distinction of producer- and buyer-driven commodity chains. On the one hand, in producer-driven commodity chains, TnCs are central in controlling the production system. Countries and levels of development vary according to operation strategies, risk management, and global governance of supply chains⁹⁶. One central issue in producer-driven commodity chains is the fact that TnCs do not own production facilities. Producer-driven commodity chains are common in industries linked to infrastructure, like Gerdau.

Organogram 3 – Producer-driven Commodity Chain at Gerdau



Source: Gereffi, Gary. The Organization of Buyer-Driven Global Commodity Chains: How U.S. Retailers Shape Overseas Production Networks. In: Gereffi, Gary; Korzeniewicz, Miguel. **Commodity Chains and Global Capitalism**. Westport: Praeger Publishers, 1994. Adapted according to Gerdau Annual Report 2015. Available at: <http://ri.gerdau.com/enu/s-36-enu-2015.html>. Accessed in March 20th, 2017.

It's worth noticing that small suppliers are supposed to adhere to the program "Gerdau's Suppliers of Excellence" (Fornecedores de Excelência Gerdau), which include "indicators of performance... qualification in the fields of quality, productivity, innovation and entrepreneurship, social responsibility, and health and safety at work" (Gerdau 2015, my translation⁹⁷) - these are Gerdau's subcontractors. At Pernambuco,

⁹⁶ Operation strategies, risk management, and global governance of supply chains are something included from recent lexicon related to TnCs. They are not professor Gereffi's concepts.

⁹⁷ Original text: "indicadores de desempenho.... capacitações nas áreas de qualidade, produtividade, inovação e empreendedorismo, responsabilidade social e saúde e segurança no trabalho".

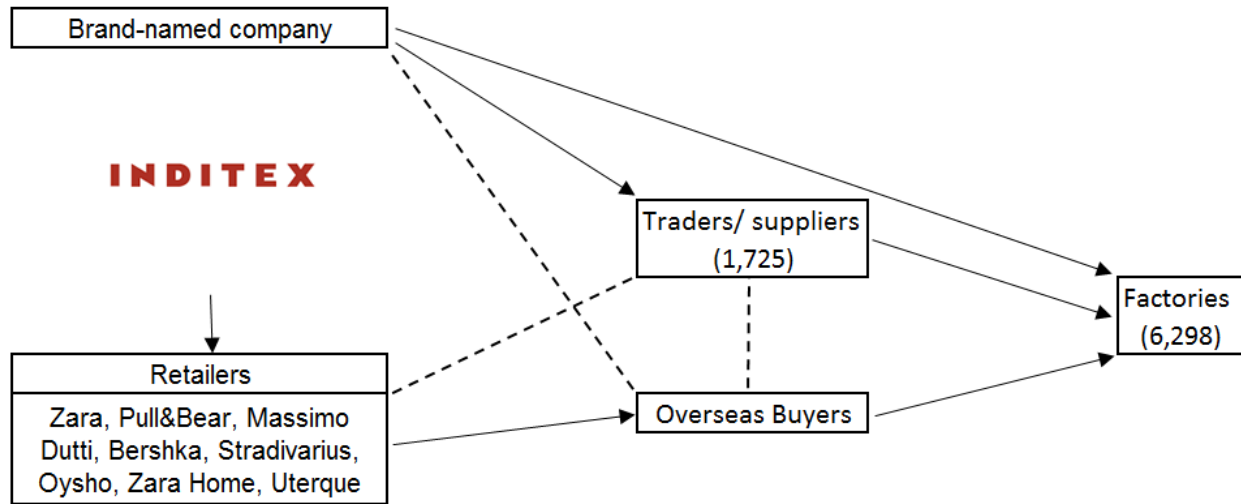
for instance, this program recently involved 36 suppliers/ subcontractors⁹⁸, including everything from services to IT, from engineering to consultants (Sebrae 2014-2016). Manufacturers may be aligned to Gerdau through joint ventures: For instance, JFE Steel Corporation is in such a partnership for promoting knowledge transfer in Brazil. Manufacturing, thus, is performed by Gerday, sometimes in partnership with other companies. Trading is also promoted by Gerdau in commercial units. Finally, the retail sector is promoted by small businesses and heavy industry related to other businesses (Gerdau 2015).

Buyer-driven commodity chains, on the other hand, promote decentralized production in “competitive” countries, usually those offering low wages, tax exemptions, environmental eases, and other forms of organizational flexibility⁹⁹ - especially in the Third World, as professor Gereffi states. These industries are usually intensive in labor and consumer-goods. Production facilities are not owned by big businesses. Rather, it's the opposite: pieces come together as a finished good. Profits are a consequence of “high-value research, design, sales, marketing, and financial services that allow the retailers, branded markets, and branded manufacturers to act as strategic brokers in linking overseas factories with evolving producer niches in the main consumer markets” (Gereffi 1994: 43). Buyer-driven commodity chains are the norm in textile industries, especially garment companies, such as Inditex.

⁹⁸ ABA Engenharia Ltda., AG Terceirização e Serviços, Artmetal Metalurgia e Serviços Ltda., CLP Instalações Ltda., Comcabos Comércio e Distribuição Ltda., Cromotela Mídia Impressa, EDS Planejamento, Elétrica Cordeiro, Emprotec Empreendimentos técnicos e comerciais Ltda., Foco Engenharia, GSI Montagem Industrial Ltda., HiFi Informática Ltda., Imtec Indústria Metalúrgica e Comércio Ltda., Instrucon Refrigeração, JN Empreendimentos, Keyppy dedetização e consultoria ambiental, Labore Consultoria, LS Eletrônica Industrial, Max Control Soluções em Automação e Codificação Industrial, Mecol soluções em usinagem, Metalpil, Metalsol Usinagem e Calderaria, Metalúrgica Veneza Ltda., Microart Sinalização e Gráfica Ltda., MJS Serviços, Oasis Industrial Service, Ranger Gestão de Riscos, Renova Lavanderia Industrial, Spectron, Suporte, Tecpoços tecnologia em águas subterrâneas, Telaport Cobertura Metálica, TST Thermal Spray Technology, Usimeq - Usinagem Fabricação de Ferramentas e Estruturas Metálicas, Web System - solução em segurança, WT manutenção e montagens eletromecânicas (Sebrae 2014-2016).

⁹⁹ Low wages, tax exemptions and environmental eases are not professor Gereffi's lexicon either. It's updated according to recent research, such as Anner (2011) . Professor Gereffi wrote about “search for low wage labor and pursuit of organizational flexibility”

Organogram 4 – Buyer-driven Commodity Chain at Inditex



Note: Solid arrows are primary relationships; dashed arrows are secondary relationships.

Source: Gereffi, Gary. The Organization of Buyer-Driven Global Commodity Chains: How U.S. Retailers Shape Overseas Production Networks. In: Gereffi, Gary; Korzeniewicz, Miguel. **Commodity Chains and Global Capitalism**. Westport: Praeger Publishers, 1994. Adapted according to Inditex Annual Report 2015. Available at: http://static.inditex.com/annual_report_2015/en/. Accessed in March 19th, 2017.

It's worth differentiating, still, standardized and fashion-oriented garments. Standardized garments are pieces such as brassieres and jeans, produced in single-purpose machines. Fashion-oriented garments are products that quickly follow the trends - they have a fast turnaround to provide buyers with “the next big thing” - this has been termed “fast fashion”¹⁰⁰.

¹⁰⁰ “The term ‘fast fashion’ refers to a phenomenon in the fashion industry whereby production processes are expedited in order to get new trends to the market as quickly and cheaply as possible. As a result of this trend, the tradition of introducing new fashion lines on a seasonal basis is being challenged. Today, it is not uncommon for fast-fashion retailers to introduce new products multiple times in a single week” (Investopedia 2017).

3.3.4.1 GSC and sources of power derived

Consequences of buyer- or producer-driven in a globalized economy vary. Due to the GSC, workers in garment industries have distinct forms of power that workers in the steel industry don't have access to. Based on Erik Olin Wright's (2000), Silver (2003) distinguishes *associational* and *structural* power:

Associational power consists of "the various forms of power that result from the formation of collective organization of workers" (most importantly, trade unions and political parties). *Structural power*, in, contrast, consists of the power that accrues to workers "simply from their location... in the economic system." Wright further divides "structural" power into two subtypes. The first subtype of structural power (which we shall call *marketplace bargaining power*) is the power that "results directly from labor markets." The second subtype of structural power (which we shall call *workplace bargaining power*) is the power that results "from the strategic location of a particular group of workers within a key industrial sector." Marketplace bargaining power can take several forms including (1) the possession of scarce skills that are in demand by employers, (2) low levels of general unemployment, and (3) the ability of workers to pull out of the labor market entirely and survive on nonwage sources of income. Workplace bargaining power, on the other hand, accrues to workers who are enmeshed in tightly integrated production processes, where a localized work stoppage in a key node can cause disruptions on a much wider scale than the stoppage itself. Such bargaining power has been in evidence when entire assembly lines have been shut down by a stoppage in one segment of the line, and when entire corporations relying on the just-in-time delivery of parts have, been brought to a standstill by railway workers' strikes (Silver 2003: 13).

Workers from garment industry are more dependent on union organizations, networks, and associational power, while workers in the steel industry have more of a voice on the job--due to bottom-up organization-- and can build networks on their own. As I shall demonstrate further, the design of each sector greatly impacts labor transnationalism and what type of agency workers experience or, n Wright's and Silver's words, associational and structural power. According to Silver,

Given the weak structural bargaining power of textile workers, it should not be surprising that associational power turned out to be an essential ingredient in those workers' victories... [however,] associational power was not sufficiently strong to compensate for the weak structural power of textile workers... victories have been based on a significant strategic rethinking of how to leverage "associational power" (Silver 2003: 94-110).

Like Silver, I argue that where workers' strategic bargaining power is weak, victories depend on strong associational power and that "structural weakness has placed a renewed premium on the importance of associational power" (idem, 120).

For the first time, and despite relevant studies since the 90's (see, for instance, Gereffi 1994), ILO (2016) published a report on "Decent Work in Global Supply Chains", with resolutions and conclusions to be adopted by GSCs. Conclusions include the observation that GSC "are complex, diverse and fragmented"; "failures... have contributed to decent work deficits for working conditions such as in the areas of occupational safety and health, wages, working time, and which impact on the employment relationship and the protections it can offer"; that "In many sectors, women represent a large share of the workforce in global supply chains"; "Decent work deficits are pronounced in a significant number of EPZs linked to global supply chains... Long working hours, forced overtime and pay discrimination are common practices in EPZs"; and that "Governments may have limited capacity and resources to effectively monitor and enforce compliance with laws and regulations [which have been exacerbated due to] governance gaps" (ILO 2016: 2).

3.3.4.2 Feminine light industries and masculine heavy industries

So far, general understandings about GSC involved commodity chain designs, sources of workers' power, models of development, and industrialization. However, there are some important topics ILO failed to address. Cynthia Enloe (2000) notes that the ILO left out the crucial subject of gendered labor and feminist organizing, remarking the ILO would benefit from "taking women's experience of international politics seriously" (Enloe 2000: 4) - including genderism¹⁰¹ and class barriers dividing women in their societies. For Enloe, as long as men dominate the top and women the bottom of the international political economy, a feminist critique is not only helpful but

¹⁰¹ The author employs the term "sexism".

necessary for a complete understanding of how exploitation moves through the chain. A central issue remains the lack of opportunities which leads to vulnerable workers. Exploring the intersection of gender with race, national status, family size and dynamics (for example, if a woman has children or not), and class, among others, is central. Enloe (2000) explains that,

In the United States, manufacturers, encouraged by regional governors, moved their factories south in search of cheaper, non-unionized workers, who would enable them to compete with the Asian and Latin American imports. Black, Latina, and rural white women became America's secret weapon against Mexican, Haitian, and Korean goods. American companies also moved off the mainland to Puerto Rico, which fell under US customs protection and thus provided the best of all worlds: a Third World labor force inside the American trade sphere. At the same time, smaller firms in the US and Canada adopted the home-work strategy. As in Britain, the majority of home workers were women of color, again recent immigrants, often fearful of deportation. In Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, New York, Miami and Los Angeles, it was Filipino, Vietnamese, Chinese, Greek, Dominican, Cuban, Salvadoran, Haitian, and Jamaican women who became essential to garment companies' global strategies... if you can't move to the Third World, create a feminized Third World in your own backyard (Enloe 2000: 154).

For Enloe, it's commonplace that women's work is cheap work, based on "cultural presumptions about sexuality, marriage and feminine respectability these transformations wouldn't have been possible" (Enloe 2000: 160). It's not surprising, thus, that "feminine" industries are more labor intensive, and "masculine" industries, more technology intensive in order to save up expenses. The differentiation by professor Enloe is that of light industries and heavy industries: "Light industries' have been mostly feminized, while 'heavy industries' have been most masculinized" (Enloe 2000: 167). My research industries are perfect examples of this: garment¹⁰² and steel¹⁰³. Although differentiations are met between industries, it's worth pointing out gender imbalances inside same industries, besides the examples pointed out at the garment industry in the Bolivian case below. In an interview with a Indian female leader about gender in labor unions, it's possible to detect the tautology derived from the

¹⁰² Other examples are textiles, food processing, cigarettes, toys, shoes, electronics, and data entry (insurance data, airline reservations, etc.).

¹⁰³ Other examples are automobiles (including tanks and armored vehicles), chemicals and petrochemicals, aircraft and aerospace, and machinery.

interrelationship between male-dominated industries and representativeness in labor unions:

Interviewer: Is that some kind of quota in your organization, for women to be in the leadership position?

Interviewee: We don't have quota, but now [...] unions have been stressing on 40%, 30%... we try to inculcate... afford a certain percentage... but it doesn't match because we don't have that number of women actually in the field, so when you say that you want 40% of representation, if you don't have that much of women in the field, how can you represent... fill the 40% quota? So... we don't have a quota system, we have reservation of this, but we try... at least, in all the training programs we try to see the 30% representation of women... So if there is a program on leadership or occupation health and safety... if 4 people have to be nominated, we try to see that 2 are men and 2 are women. Accordingly then you have women in that sector. If you don't, then that is difficult.

Interviewer: You work in sectors that are mainly male...

Interviewee: Male dominated... yeah... (verbal information¹⁰⁴).

It's interesting to note, still, that women find their own solutions, often bypassing traditional labor institutions for their own independent networks:

[...] if you want to maintain [...] your union and maintain your membership is important to have women workers and youth... in the unions. And in the unorganized sector under lots of women workers... working... if you want to maintain and strengthen the union, it depends on how you bring women workers and youth into it... If you train them [...] you can have] like a second land leadership. So we do believe in having youth and women to work in the trade unions and accordingly that we will be having programs... we have programs for the youth over national center, [...] we have a different youth committee, as well a women's committee, and [...] a separated committee, and the women committee whose functioning is [...] independently] from the national center (verbal information¹⁰⁵).

¹⁰⁴Interview with the Chairperson of the Women's league at the Steel Machinery Engineering Workers Federation of India and member of IndustriALL Global Union Base Metals Steering Committee Meeting.Meeting at United Steelworkers - November 2017.

¹⁰⁵Interview with the Chairperson of the Women's league at the Steel Machinery Engineering Workers Federation of India and member of IndustriALL Global Union Base Metals Steering Committee Meeting.Meeting at United Steelworkers - November 2017.

3.4 States enhancing national industries and national unions

In addition to GSC market forces, another important factor in the global labor movement is the role of nation-states. In producer-driven commodity chains, economic agents are TnCs and state-owned enterprises. In buyer-driven commodity chains, economic agents are small to medium-sized, private economic firms. When it comes to export-oriented industrialization (EOI), governments are the main facilitators, “condition-creating and tend not to become directly involved in production” (Gereffi 1994: 100). At ISI, “governments play a much more interventionist role” (Gereffi 1994; see also Evans 1979 and O’Donnell 1979). State policies in consuming or importing are also important, for instance, through open or protectionist market industries worldwide.

Enloe (2000) sides with Gereffi agreeing this configuration is dependent upon national configurations, and with Foucault that women’s empowerment depends on their participation in creating “bodies of knowledge”:

Thus how light and heavy industries relate to each other politically may depend in part on the relative influence possessed by women and men in a country. If women are seen mainly as mothers, part-time employees and unskilled workers, if they do not have control over the unions they are members of or have no unions at all, if they are not considered serious allies or opponents by men in government ministries or political parties, then it will be especially difficult for light industry to hold its own in politics in a way that benefits not only the managers but also the workers. Put another way, the power that men working in mining, aerospace, automobile, steel or petrochemical industries can bring to bear on their country’s political system not only privileges heavy industry, it serves to undercut women bunched together in this industry. This sexual division of labor has had the effect of further masculinizing national and international politics. For government officials in most countries have come to think of ‘heavy industries’ as the very stuff of national power. Having its own steel industry is held as proof that a country has ‘graduated’, *arrived*. While officials in South Korea, Brazil, and other countries that have developed masculinized heavy industries express in their elevated international status, their counterparts in ‘mature’ countries such as the United States, Britain and France feel as though they are losing their grip on world politics because of the decline of their steel and automobile companies. When political commentators accord the fortunes of their countries’ steel, aircraft, or automobile companies the seriousness reserved for issues of ‘national security’, they are further entrenching the masculinization of international politics (Enloe 2000: 167-8).

We can see this interventionist spirit at work in René Dreyfuss' (1981) research into the 1964's coup, where business elites were part and parcel to rebuilding the state:

Oligopolistic control of the market was based primarily on multinational preference by sectoral selective insertion, specialized and concentrated, and in technological and financial integration. Until the 50's, transnational capital was established in services, extraction and commerce of agricultural products and, to a lesser extent, industrial companies. Through the Target Plan [Plano de Metas]¹⁰⁶, attention of multinationals in Brazil redirected investments to other sectors and expanded local economies to manufactures, something named "second stage of import substitution"¹⁰⁷. This process is clearly noted in US investment patterns...

In the beginning of the 70's, 78,1% of multi billionaire groups had as main activities the industrial sector, with a bunch of sub-sectors... these were shared with interests of multinationals regarding respect to the investment sector and base industries, in which the State had a relevant participation, approaching multinational groups (Dreyfuss 1981: 53-4, my translation¹⁰⁸).

These industries were heavily based on hegemonic masculinity: entrepreneurs, techno-bureaucracy, and the military. At the coup's inception, around 1/3 of companies operating in Brazil were multinationals. Multinational corporations became a central political factor by the end of the 1950's, turning on political, technical, military, and business *intelligentsia*. In other words, they were Gramsci's new organic intellectuals, building a powerful economic block. Professor Dreyfuss distinguishes two periods in which such movements were championed: the first one, through political and business alliances, bureaucratic centers, and domination through corrupt ideological dissemination; and the second one, accommodation within the populist block of power,

¹⁰⁶ The Plan was based on five key sectors: energy, transportation, food, basic industries, and education.

¹⁰⁷ T. dos Santos, 1969

¹⁰⁸ Original text: "O controle oligopolista de mercado baseava-se principalmente na preferência multinacional pela penetração setorial seletiva, especializada e concentrada, e na integração tecnológica e financeira. Até a década de cinquenta, o capital transnacional havia se estabelecido em serviços, extração e comercialização de produtos agrícolas e em menor grau, em empresas industriais. Através do Plano de Metas, os interesses multinacionais no Brasil redirecionaram seus investimentos para outros setores e expandiram a economia local em direção à manufatura, no que foi chamado de "segundo estágio de substituição de importação". Esse processo pode ser visto claramente no padrão de investimentos americanos..."

No início da década de sessenta, 78,1% dos grupos multibilionários tinham como atividade principal a indústria, sendo que nela estavam distribuídos num número variado de ramos... se equilibravam com os interesses multinacionais no que dizia respeito ao setor de investimento e na indústria de base, onde o Estado tinha uma participação relevante, e aproximavam-se dos grupos multinacionais".

through class associations, political action groups, technical and private offices, thinkthanks¹⁰⁹, and bureaucratic and business alliances. Two central organizations in promoting such consensus were the Brazilian Institute for Democratic Action (*Instituto Brasileiro de Ação Democrática*, or IBAD), and the Institute for Social Research and Studies (*Instituto de Pesquisa e Estudos Sociais*, or IPES).

Consensus was built through action in student and cultural movements, mobilization of the middle class, restraintment of peasants, promotion among industrial classes, political actions in parties and the Congress, and women cooptation - most of them financially supported by IPES -, under the same tactic of opposition in the coup over Allende: the figure of the housekeeper afraid of the “red threat” to civic demonstrations¹¹⁰.

Whether a coup or not, a leftist or right-wing government, the fact is that traditionally industries were usually occupied and operated by men:

The textile and apparel industries are the first stage in industrialization process of most countries... The apparel industry thus is an ideal type for exploring the organization and dynamics of buyer-driven commodity chains...

The apparel industry... is the most fragmented part of the textile complex, characterized by many small, labor-intensive factories (Gereffi 1994: 101-102).

¹⁰⁹ For instance, School of Business Administration (Escola de Administração de Empresas), Superior Institute of Administration and Business (Instituto Superior de Administração e Vendas), Economic and Social Planning Office (Escritório de Planejamento Econômico e Social, or EPEA), Institute for Social and Economic Planning (Instituto de Planejamento Econômico e Social, or IPEA), Center for Administrative Training (Centros para Treinamento Administrativo - established in São Paulo under the American Management Association), Brazilian Institute of Economics (Instituto Brasileiro de Economia, or IBRE), Getúlio Vargas Foundation (Fundação Getúlio Vargas, or FGV) (Dreyfuss 1981).

¹¹⁰ Some of these organizations included: National Alliance of Feminine Associations (União Nacional de Associações Femininas), Christian Association of Young Men (Associação Cristã de Moços), Christian Association of Businessmen (Associação dos Dirigentes Cristãos de Empresas, or ADCE), Doctrine of Christian Solidarity (Doutrina da Solidariedade Cristã), Women's Campaign for Democracy (Campanha da Mulher pela Democracia, or CAMDE), Civic Feminine Alliance (União Cívica Feminina, or UCF) Campaign for Civic Education (Campanha para Educação Cívica, or CEC), Brazilian Woman's Campaign (Campanha da Mulher Brasileira), Movement of Feminine Regimentation (Movimento de Arregimentação Feminina, or MAF), Independent League for Liberty (Liga Independente para a Liberdade), Christian Familiar Movement (Movimento Familiar Cristão, or MFC), Confederation of Christian Families (Confederação das Famílias Cristãs, or CFC), Christian League Against Communism (Liga Cristã contra o Comunismo), Crusade of Rosary in Family (Cruzada do Rosário em Família, or CRF), Legion of Social Defense (Legião de Defesa Social), Democratic Feminine Crusade at Recife (Cruzada Democrática Feminina no Recife, or CDFR), Democratic Feminine Association (Associação Democrática Feminina, or ADF), and League of Democratic Women (Liga de Mulheres Democráticas, or LIMDE) (Dreyfuss 1981).

4 RESULTS: BOTTOM-UP AND TOP-DOWN INTERNATIONAL NETWORKS

As I've mentioned in other parts of this dissertation, union networks vary in design depending on sector. Furthermore, transversal subjects, such as women, cross sector-related issues and probably anticipate the existence of labor markets. Each organization, such as IndustriALL, have their own manner of dealing with this dilemma. As one of our interviewed states:

Strategies are the same for all sectors/ industries. Their application is different depending upon each sector/ industry. I believe there are around 17 sectors at IndustriALL, but each director should apply strategies according to necessities of each sector. The fight against precarious work is quite different in the steel sector, but little different between the aeroespacial and automobile sectors. There's a strategy for precarious work, another one to incorporate women in union organizations, but the application of these strategies in each sector depends depends on imagination, work capacity, moment in different territories (verbal information¹¹¹, own translation).

In this and in the next chapter I aim to demonstrate how union networks are designed depending on the sector they are inserted in and how union organization - specifically union networks at Gerdau and Inditex under IndustriALL's umbrella - (sometimes) deal with relevant issues as International Framework Agreements, employers' recognition, and identity politics.

4.1 Bottom-up international network - Gerdau

The Gerdau World Committee was created during the company's internationalization in 1989¹¹². In Brazil, the Committee is represented mainly by the

¹¹¹Interview with Gerdau's World Committee's International Coordinator - May 2014. Original text: "As estratégias são as mesmas para todos os setores. A aplicação é diferente em cada setor. Na IndustriALL acredito que tenha 17 setores, mas cada diretor de setor tem que aplicar as estratégias de acordo com as necessidades do seu setor. A luta pelo trabalho precário é muito diferente no setor siderúrgico, mas diferente do setor aeroespacial e automobilístico. Existe uma estratégia da luta pelo trabalho precário, a incorporação da mulher à luta sindical, mas a aplicação dessas estratégias em cada setor depende da imaginação, da capacidade de trabalho, do momento em diferentes territórios"

¹¹²Interview with IndustriALL's Director of Special Projects. Meeting at Gerdau's Annual Meeting - May 2014.

National Confederation of Metallurgical Workers linked to the Unique Central of Workers (*Confederação Nacional dos Metalúrgicos* and *Central Única dos Trabalhadores*, CNM--CUT). The Committee also preceded over the Finnish central union *Federatie Nederlandse Vakbeweging* (FNV) project and CUT, named Action over Multinationals (*Ação Frente às Multinacionais*), acronym CUT-Multi. That alliance aimed to organize workers through multinational companies operating in Brazil (CUT Multi 2009). Nowadays, CNM is one of the most international Confederations of CUT¹¹³. Gerdau operates in 15 countries: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Guatemala, India, Mexico, Peru, Spain, Uruguay, the United States, and Venezuela (Gerdau 2016).

In 1989, main objectives of the first Committee's meeting included: (i) understanding the company's corporate structure, growth plan, and negotiation strategy, and (ii) creating a more sustainable structure for interaction and communication. At that moment, the Workers' Committee of the Gerdau Group (*Comissão dos Trabalhadores do Grupo Gerdau*) was composed of workers and labor union organizations from Uruguay, Chile, and Canada (Boletim Unificado 1995 qtd. Gray 2009). Later on, the Uruguayan delegation didn't participate in the Committee due to, among other issues, the union structure and levels of unionization (verbal information¹¹⁴) (in Uruguay collective bargaining represents the entire sector¹¹⁵, which may decrease incidences of international capital flow into the country). At that meeting, mainly due to the challenging effort of uniting all confederations that represent workers in the fragmented Brazilian union representation system, the meeting ended with open points. Six years later, the second meeting was supported by the Solidarity Center (AFL-CIO's arm) due to the Solidarity Center's activities in the United States, and their work with the United Steelworkers (USW) (Gray 2009).

¹¹³Interview with Gerdau's World Committee's International Coordinator - May 2014.

¹¹⁴Interview with IndustriALL's Director of Special Projects.Meeting at Gerdau's Annual Meeting - May 2014.

¹¹⁵ The bargaining coverage rates in Uruguay reaches 96% of employees and 67% of total employment. The collective bargaining level is mostly by industry.

In 1998, the First Inter-American Meeting of Workers in the Gerdau Group was made possible due to the financial support of the Steelworker Humanity Fund and the CNM--CUT. Workers from Chile, Canada, and Brazil (CUT and Union Force) participated in this first meeting. Differences (and disparities) of national wages, labor conditions, and purchasing power were some of the meeting's agenda items¹¹⁶. Other themes included working standards at the level of the company (Brazilian proposal); outsourcing; Total Quality Management (TQM) implementation; and work teams (proposal of all countries). Following the meeting, a Brazilian delegation visited Canada to exchange information (visiting a worker owned cooperative and attend workshops about rights at NAFTA and MERCOSUL, and made collective agreements to survey the company's negotiating profile). At this point, the Brazilian workers had created or made use of such alternatives forms of worker organizing networks such as Worker's Councils and national networks to advance rights within the Brazilian union systems that already enforces minimum standards at the national level - in fact, Gerdau's position is to follow the bare minimum of national labor regulation legislation or as one worker put it: "Gerdau does not have ethics, it's not an ethical company at all. It's ethical to the point that it absolutely has to be" (verbal information¹¹⁷). At that time, the emergence of NAFTA provoked an urgent discussion of union strategy beyond comparison of wages and labor conditions to focus on free trade agreements and regionalization processes. National and bargaining differences, challenges in establishing agendas (calendar politics), and composition of shared priorities also became evident. Participants went back home with the compromise of sensitization and dialogue with their social bases (Gray 2009).

In the Second Inter-American Meeting of Workers in the Gerdau Group (2003 in Rio de Janeiro), leaders from Canada, the United States, Argentina, Chile, Uruguay and Brazil (and a representative of the Brazilian Labor Ministry) were present in the

¹¹⁶ One Canadian worker was supposed to work two months to buy a car. A Chilean worker 30 months and a Brazilian worker, 28 months.

¹¹⁷ Interview with the Canadian leader from Gerdau's World Committee's International Coordinator. Meeting at Gerdau's Annual Meeting - May 2014.

context during the company's expansion. Factories in Brazil expanded from 12 to 33, a joint venture was established in Argentina, seven factories were bought by AmeriSteel in North America (1999), three Co-Steel factories were bought in Canada, and the new AmeriSteel was consolidated (2002) (Gray 2009). On this occasion CNM--CUT and USW were trying to draw up a common agenda for the sector. The meeting had a DIEESE presentation about the company's history, market share, statistics by factory and country, union density, average wages, week workhours, worker demands, and the project of advocating for an IFA (Gray 2015, 2009) – which was never agreed upon. A company's representative showed up just to say the company was not committed to social dialogue or recognizing other forms of labor organizing beyond those ones predicated in the Constitution (verbal information¹¹⁸). Moreover, the company used a window of opportunity in 2005 to to pressue the network: a lockout in the unionized factory USW Local 48 8586 in Beaumont, Texas, after a strike. As a result, a USW Comprehensive Campaign lasted from 2005 to 2007 and had the following tactics: Two Faces of Gerdau (leaflets), informational flyering demonstrating the company's bad practices, visiting Brazilian union leaders in the US (CUT and Força Sindical) petition to the chairman Phillip Casey from Ameristeel, attempts of dialogue with Jorge Gerdau (president) in an airport with media coverage, support of the local community and the media.

These events led to a workers' uprising in Gerdau's World Committee meeting in Porto Alegre, Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil. The Third Inter-American Meeting of Workers in the Gerdau Group joined leaders of nine countries: the United States, Canada, Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, Colombia, Peru, and Spain. Representatives of IMF (now IndustriALL), DIEESE and the Canadian Steelworker Humanity Fund were also in the meeting. The meeting agenda included the company's relationship with

¹¹⁸ (i) Interview with the Canadian leader from Gerdau's World Committee's International Coordinator. Meeting at Gerdau's Annual Meeting - May 2014. (ii) Interview with Gerdau's World Committee's International Coordinator. Meeting at Gerdau's Annual Meeting - May 2014. (iii) Interview with the former Coordinator of Projects at Building and Wood's International. Formation assistant at Sindsaude (Sao Paulo) - July 2014.

employers, differences of legal-organizational by country, and strategies to make an IFA viable. At this point, the company had bought factories in Peru, Colombia, and the United States (four North Star's unionized USW units and the Sheffield Steel) (Gray 2009, 2015). Advances from this Committee included the establishment of annual meetings with representatives of most countries where the company has operations (Brazil, United States, Chile, Spain, Argentina, and Peru), specific rules of leadership and participation, permanent database, operations by country, IMF/IndustriALL recognition and funding, virtual portal for information exchange among members, public petitions for the Committee recognition and signature of an IFA (CNM/CUT 2013).

Since then, issues in the Gerdau network's agenda included health and safety at work, an "international day of struggle" for Chilean and Canadian workers, decentralized actions in factories, regional or national committees (for instance, *Comitê Nacional dos Trabalhadores da Gerdau no Brasil* and Unity Council in the US), strengthening of local initiatives (as the Internal Commission for Accidents Prevention/ *Comissão Interna de Prevenção de Acidentes*, or CIPA, and Profits and Results Sharing/ *Participação nos Lucros e Resultados*, or PLR), promotion of international issues in local union newsletters (as *Marretinha Neles* in Brazil), partnerships with research centers (*Observatório Social*, Solidarity Center and DIEESE), and development of an intranet (an inter-company internet for informational exchange). Efficient exchange of information remains one of the biggest challenges for the network (*Marretinha Neles* Newsletter 2008; Gray 2015; fieldwork)¹¹⁹.

Recently, when remarking on the Gerdau network, IndustriALL noted it was "one of the most active worker networks of IndustriALL affiliates, [which] defends the right to have a decent life and decent work in all countries where it represents workers" (IndustriALL 2013a). The committee has high union density: 54% of the company

¹¹⁹ (i) Interview with the former Coordinator of Projects at Building and Wood's International. Formation assistant at Sindsaude (Sao Paulo) - July 2014. (ii) Interview with IndustriALL's Director of Special Projects. Meeting at Gerdau's Annual Meeting - May 2014. (iii) Interview with Gerdau's World Committee's International Coordinator. Meeting at Gerdau's Annual Meeting - May 2014. (iv) Interview with the Canadian leader from Gerdau's World Committee's International Coordinator. Meeting at Gerdau's Annual Meeting - May 2014.

workers (fieldwork 2014). One of the main narratives in the meetings and interviews during my fieldwork was that the network has “teeth” i.e. bargaining power, makes itself present with it’s own strategies and actions developed during the network’s creation¹²⁰:

Short-run benefits are reports in case of accidents, recognition and support in case of collective bargaining, ease of communication exchange on what can be done immediately[...] [For instance,] a Peruvian partner was negotiating and in every two days [at his production union] there was information about it for all the people in the world. Spanish workers negotiated their recess day and in the next day there was a picture of them without recess. These are some examples of what can be done in the short-run. Long-run benefits is the possibility of creating a forum with the company in which an International Framework Agreement can be reached in the same time, to protect not only permanent workers at Gerdau, but also the outsourced ones. There’s no guarantee that this International Framework will be good for everyone. On the contrary, it will protect India, Dominican Republic and the minimum standard for wages will probably be much better to [these] workers. On the one hand, it will guarantee minimum standards for workers in less advantaged situations and, on the other hand, will guarantee that this standard raises (verbal information¹²¹).

The International Framework Agreement mentioned in the interview would be one of the network’s major advancements. It would bring employers’ recognition, more institutionalization, and possibly financial support for the network¹²². Employer recognition, on the other hand, could also result in a less confrontational stance with Gerdau:

¹²⁰Interview with the Canadian leader from Gerdau’s World Committee’s International Coordinator.Meeting at Gerdau’s Annual Meeting - May 2014.

¹²¹Interview with the former Coordinator of Projects at Building and Wood’s International.Formation assistant at Sindsaude (Sao Paulo) - March 2015. Original quote from the interview: “Benefícios em curto prazo são denúncias em caso de acidente, o reconhecimento e o apoio em caso de negociações coletivas, facilitar o intercâmbio de informação do que se pode fazer agora. [...] um companheiro peruano estava negociando e a cada dois dias tinha informação sobre isso para todas as pessoas do mundo. Os espanhóis negociaram seu dia de folga e no outro dia havia fotos deles sem folga. Isso é algo que se pode fazer agora. Benefício em longo prazo é que se possa criar um forum com a empresa e então chegarem um espaço de tempo a um acordo coletivo internacional, que não só proteja os trabalhadores permanentes da Gerdau, mas também os terceirizados, onde eu não tenho de nenhuma maneira garantia de que esse acordo marco internacional será bom para todo mundo, pelo contrário, vai ser um piso que vai proteger Índia, República Dominicana e o piso será provavelmente muito melhor aos trabalhadores. Por um lado vai garantir um piso aos trabalhadores que estão piores e por outro lado também vai garantir que esse piso cresça”.

¹²²Interview with IndustriALL’s Director of Special Projects.Meeting at Gerdau’s Annual Meeting - May 2014.

[...] who pays is who decides “which music to dance”. It would create a new situation, which is, who decides which decisions should be taken. At the same time that the recognition creates the opportunity for debates, it would create to us a situation with different challenges that we don’t have nowadays. I prefer the challenges I have to face today [as the network’s leader]. I prefer to have money in my pocket and use it than do not have money at all (verbal information¹²³).

In fact, the network is currently self-sufficient without any employers’ support, even with many challenges to financial sustainability:

To be honest, the employer's' recognition is not the primary factor of the continued existence of this network. They recognize the network whether or not they want to: there's a difference between recognition and support. They recognize it, they see us coming. They don't like it, right? So, I'm OK with that, if we never get recognition I'm OK with that too, because we will continue to be a pain in their ass and we will stop them from doing lot of things. We won't stop them from doing everything, but we will give them reasons to reflect before they do certain things, right? So, they've had an advantage, a technical and economic advantage. In 2008, in the unionized North American facilities, they “cut the plant” in half [dismissed half of the workers] generally speaking. Let's say everybody was on 4 shifts and that means you run 7 days a week 24 hours a day. That's 4 shifts. Some plants, all plants got affected, some of them got cut back to 3 shifts some of them got cut back to 2 shifts. Mine was the one that got cut back to 2 shifts, mine was the one that stayed in 2 shifts, because we caused them too much problem, we are the most radical. And that doesn't mean we are wild about anything, it just means we don't take their shit (verbal information¹²⁴).

Our annual meeting was held in Buenos Aires, Argentina, between 19th and 20th of May, 2014¹²⁵ (fieldwork). The meeting was hosted by the Metal Workers Union (*Unión Obrera Metalúrgica* - UOM) after the Regional Seminar of the Steel Industry (*Seminário Regional da Indústria Siderúrgica*) promoted by IndustriALL. In the latter, the labor situation in Argentina, Colombia, Mexico, Brazil and Peru, and the five actual

¹²³Interview with Gerdau's World Committee's International Coordinator.Meeting at Gerdau's Annual Meeting - May 2014. Original quote from the interview: “[...] quem faz os pagamentos é quem decide “que música se dança”. Isso criaria uma nova situação, que é quem decide a agenda de discussão, quem decide quais decisões devem ser tomadas. Ao mesmo tempo em que o reconhecimento criaria a oportunidade de ter discussões, nos criaria uma nova situação com desafios diferentes que hoje infelizmente não temos. Eu prefiro ter esses desafios aos que tenho agora [as the network’s leader]. Prefiro ter dinheiro no bolso e poder usá-lo, do que não ter”.

¹²⁴Interview with the Canadian leader from Gerdau's World Committee's International Coordinator.Meeting at Gerdau's Annual Meeting - May 2014.

¹²⁵ The fieldwork was developed in this meeting. The last meeting before the final version of this thesis occurred in Uruguay in May 2015. I couldn't participate since I was developing part of the PhD in the US.

IndustriALL goals and their viability were under debate. Since the network doesn't count on employer's recognition or financial support, the meeting's funding followed the pattern of conjectural viability and was split as follows¹²⁶: UOM contributed 15 thousand dollars; labor union organizations from Brazil, Spain, Germany, Canada, and the US paid for transportation and hotel stay¹²⁷.

Delegations for Argentina, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Peru, Spain, and the United States participated (delegations from Venezuela, India, Mexico, and Uruguay didn't¹²⁸). At the time of the meeting, the company was trying to diminish labor costs in various ways, all them weighed heavily on workers in each country Fires, national whipsawing, factory closings, increase in the number of work shifts, and Chinese competitiveness (especially in Colombia, that exports a large portion of its national production) were the main issues addressed. Leaders shared workers' achievements, such as a 29,9% of wage increase in Argentina, a national committee for health and safety in Brazil, workers' relocation due to a factory close in Canada, collective agreements in Colombia, and incremental bonuses (per time of working and negotiation) in Chile (fieldwork 2014).

The revision and feedback of the Plan of Action included the need to improve communication, especially regarding campaigns (trimestral video-conferences were mentioned), difficulty in developing campaigns materially, better exploration into the use of social media, proactive actions in health and safety, challenges in unionizing Colombia (differences between Sintrametel and Sind. de Gerdau), the range of the network (i.e. the aim to reach Uruguay which is not unionized, Mexico with historically

¹²⁶ Interview with IndustriALL's Director of Special Projects.Meeting at Gerdau's Annual Meeting - May 2014.

¹²⁷ For instance, IndustriALL paid the Chilean leaders' transportation; Solidarity Center (AFL-CIO) the Peruvian's; CNM-CUT their own transportation and three days of hotel.

¹²⁸ According to the network coordinator, the factory in India would be in a "state controlled by the mafia", with no union representation. Venezuelan unions didn't participate in the network due to internal problems in the country. Dominican Republic didn't have any union either. There would be lack of mutual understanding between labor unions in Mexico and the network. In Uruguay there would be absence of a stated union organization. Interview with Gerdau's World Committee's International Coordinator.Meeting at Gerdau's Annual Meeting - May 2014.

problematic paper unions, and the U.S. with half its factories not unionized), aim of reaching non-unionized workers, more frequent unions, and better exchanges among national unions (i.e. United Steelworkers and United Auto Workers) (fieldwork 2014). Still, there was the difficulty of some national unions in providing qualified information to the network (as in Chile)¹²⁹. Positive aspects of the network included: information exchange, reaching the goals of the campaigns, and the capacity to respond to workers. The Plan of Action for the following years included unionizing women and non-manual workers (white collars), digging into Corporate Social Responsibility, and focusing on health and safety in new campaigns (fieldwork 2014).

There was a quick debate about gender in a meeting in which all participants were men: “it's an old boys club, you know?” (verbal information¹³⁰). The IndustriALL representative mentioned the necessity of listing female workers and looking into the reason for their non-participation. As to the cause for lack of female engagement, some reasoned the justification that women's participation didn't happened to be because the sector is predominantly male, a Spanish union leader argued that women didn't attend the meetings (no questions whether or not they had to cook the family's meals or take care of children), another one that Peruvian women worked mainly in the administrative sector. It was mentioned that at IndustriALL it was established that the Executive Committee should have at least a 30% female quota. No decision regarding women's participation was taken, nor were any other inclusive measures regarding race, youth, or the LGBTQA community taken (fieldwork 2014). Recently the network has been functioning as follows:

[...] national coordinations and an international coordination, a working plan, one day of struggle at least (including same content flyers in a bunch of different languages and delivering in HRs of company units, both part of the structure of this international day). It's part of the network's structure also a trimestral bulletin, that provides information of each production plant. It has been challenging to organize this bulletin, because unions have to send information, so we were not always capable of making it ready... but when we were, the

¹²⁹ Interview with the former Coordinator of Projects at Building and Wood's International. Formation assistant at Sindsaude (Sao Paulo) - March 2015. July 2014.

¹³⁰ Interview with the Canadian leader from Gerdau's World Committee's International Coordinator. Meeting at Gerdau's Annual Meeting - May 2014.

impact was interesting. Also, a network of e-mails in which leaders kept sending information with the intention of constructing a platform in the intranet, in which it is possible to have courses, information exchange, and discussion lists. In my opinion, it didn't work out because the platform was too "hard": it was a German platform in free software, hard to deal with, too methodic, too little intuitive. In the training we provided for shop stewards, we realized that they were not... it was not easy for them to manage the internet. It was difficult for them to deal with internet language, they barely had e-mail accounts; they had e-mails because it was a mandatory issue. So there was this challenge for implementing the platform. From the perspective of the structure I think it was this. One annual meeting (verbal information¹³¹).

4.1.1 The bottom-up structure of networks at the steel industry - the case of National and international unions and the role of works' councils

The network members somehow maintain the network is successful albeit these setbacks. According to the Gerdau World Committee's Coordinator:

The experience I had with the network I work with is of a relative success. We couldn't necessarily break all facilities shutdown, but we could prevent some shutdowns and also guarantee at a plant shutdown moment, workers lose as less as possible [...].

Concrete issues at this moment: Gerdau tried to buy Arco Metal in France. Since the company operates in Spain and this movement would diminish operations in the latter, we immediately recall two issues: sending a letter to the Spanish Directors, and at the same time contacting French unions to establish alliances that would allow us to work collectively in this situation. As a Committee, we supported the French unions. Arco Metal is a company that had financial problems, was at the Court. The French unions counted on our support

¹³¹ Interview with the Canadian leader from Gerdau's World Committee's International Coordinator. Meeting at Gerdau's Annual Meeting - May 2014. Original quote from the interview: "[...] coordenações nacionais e uma coordenação mundial, um plano de trabalho, pelo menos um dia de luta mundial, que naquele dias e fazia o mesmo panfleto pro idioma de cada país, avisa--se naquele panfleto que era um dia internacional de luta e se entregava uma pauta internacional no RH de todas as empresas. Então fazia parte da estrutura da rede esse dia internacional. Fazia parte da estrutura da rede também um boletim trimestral, não sei, periódico, que circulava informação sobre cada planta. Esse boletim sempre foi um grande desafio organizar ele, porque os sindicatos tinham que mandar a informação, então nem sempre ele saia, mas quando eles ainda tinha um impacto interessante, né? E uma rede de e-mails aonde os dirigentes iam mandando coisas e tal, havia uma intenção de construir uma plataforma de internet, uma intranet fechada, aonde você poderia ter curso de formação e troca de informação e listas de discussão. Na minha opinião, isso não foi pra frente porque a plataforma era muito dura, era uma plataforma de software livre com base numa plataforma alemã, que era muito dura, muito difícil de mexer, muito metódica, pouco intuitiva e que a gente fez curso de treinamento pros dirigentes, mas os dirigentes daquela geração não eram, não tinham facilidade com internet, tinham dificuldade com a linguagem da informática, mal tinham e-mail. Tinham e-mail porque era obrigatório ter. E então teve uma dificuldade de implementação nessa plataforma. Do ponto de vista de estrutura acho que era isso. Um encontro anual".

to demand that whatever company would be at stake, it should save French jobs. We had the Gerdau-Pará economic plan for saving at least one factory and 600 workplaces. At the same time we knew that there was another company interested in maintaining all the workplaces and factories. We as union were not willing to choose a company or another, but for jobs and France's economic autonomy. With this position French union organizations, together with Gerdau World Committee were represented at the Court [...]. So these are the issues we've been doing to answer the company's attitudes. We know the company must be competitive (I would be naive not assuming it), but we also know that a company can be competitive at the expense of workers (verbal information¹³², own translation).

However, there are other issues that demonstrate the robustness of Gerdau's union network, according to academic literature. According to Croucher and Cotton (2009), for an international network to be successful, five fundamental items must be met: democratization in its constitution, influence over the company's behavior, appropriate resources allocation, ability to facilitate the participation of organizations, and spatial distribution of affiliates. Gray (2009) classifies four linear key processes in union networks for its success: coalition, campaign, capacity building, and contract.

¹³² Interview with Gerdau's World Committee's International Coordinator. Meeting at Gerdau's Annual Meeting - May 2014. Original text, from the interview in Spanish and transcribed in Portuguese: "A experiência que eu tive com a rede com a qual eu trabalho é de relativo sucesso. Não necessariamente pudemos parar o fechamento de todas as empresas, mas pudemos parar o fechamento de algumas empresas, e pudemos também garantir que no caso do fechamento da empresa, a diminuição de emprego se fizera da forma mais favorável 1) ao trabalhadores e 2) a continuidade do emprego. Questões concretas nesse momento: a empresa Gerdau tentou comprar a empresa Arco Metal na França – e que tem operações na Espanha – onde se sabia claramente que o resultado seria se Gerdau comprar Arco Metal com planta na França e Espanha, seria feito, sobretudo, a partir de que Gerdau já está diminuindo a produção em algumas fábricas na Espanha. Imediatamente nos lembramos de duas coisas: por um lado com carta à direção de empresa na Espanha, mas ao mesmo tempo contatando os sindicatos franceses para estabelecer alianças que nos permitiriam funcionar conjuntamente nessa situação. Como comitê, apoiamos os sindicatos franceses que se apresentaram. Arco Metal é uma empresa que tinha problemas financeiros e estava quebrando, estava na corte. Os sindicatos franceses contaram com nosso apoio para pedir que qual fosse a empresa que tomasse cargo teria que salvar os postos de trabalho na França e as fábricas da França. Nós tínhamos o plano econômico de Gerdau-Pará como tal na França era pelo menos salvar uma fábrica e pelo menos a diminuição de 600 postos de trabalho. Ao mesmo tempo sabíamos que havia outra empresa interessada que prometia manter todos os postos de trabalho e manter todas as fábricas abertas. Nós como sindicato não estávamos dispostos a tomar posição por uma empresa ou pela outra. Mas sim, tomamos posição para que não se perca postos de trabalho que não servem para a fábrica e que não se perca a soberania econômica nacional da França. Com essa posição os sindicatos franceses com o apoio do comitê internacional se representavam na corte [...]. Então são essas coisas que temos tratado de fazer para responder as atitudes da empresa. Sabemos que a empresa tem que ser competitiva (e eu seria tonto não entender e aceitar isso), mas também sabemos que se pode ser competitivo sem explorar os trabalhadores."

An international union network's success should also be measured by the formation of political spaces in which workers meet periodically (Gray 2015, Galhera 2014). Workers' councils are some of the most important elements to construct what Gray (2015) labels *internal cohesion*, or "a network's ability to build solidarity between members, act collectively, exercise leverage against an employer, and potentially disrupt a company's ability to generate profits (through transnational campaigns)" (69). As a matter of fact, if one takes international union networks comparatively, will easily find that the most well established international union network is more likely of having international meetings with the participation of workers, usually in a dynamic among local, national, regional, and international networks in the metallurgical and chemical sectors (at IndustriALL). As we have shown, the Gerdau network meets periodically. This issue is evident in one of the interviews:

Interviewer: Which is the main benefit that you see as the president of your local facility, which is the main benefit that the network brought to you?

Interviewee: Hum, the fact that it bothers the company that we have a network, the fact that *we actually talk with each other*, the fact that *we actually get information sometimes faster than they do when we exchange information*. We were talking about communication, yeah, there's big holes in it sometimes but the company's communication system is all, hum how do I put it, it's artificial in a lot of cases, it's, if not brainwashing, close to it (verbal information¹³³).

For the purposes of this study it's important to distinguish and point out the interaction between national and international networks. This distinction, apparently obvious, is necessary. International networks are the main focus of analysis in this research, which is, the Gerdau World Committee. Brazilian unionists discovered some time ago the advantages of national networks and articulations with international ones, avoiding i.e. whipsawing.

At Gerdau, national networks are performed in the figure of works' councils. I tend to agree with the elements Joel Rogers and Wolfgang Streeck (1994) pointed out when analyzing some of the roles of works' councils and their representation overseas. They are "second channel" of industrial relations that "give workers a voice in the

¹³³Interview with the Canadian leader from Gerdau's World Committee.Meeting at Gerdau's Annual Meeting - May 2014.

governance of the shop floor and the firm, and to facilitate communication and cooperation between management and labor on production-related matters” (97), contributing to democracy, efficiency, and regulation. As a matter of fact, the high quality of information exchange was noticeable at Gerdau’s international meeting. Shop stewards were capable of bringing to the meeting demands from the rank and file due to this proximity with the rank and file. As we shall see, this is not a reality in other international networks, as Inditex.

Elements in the local workplace that are appropriated positively by international union networks include: works’ councils as important information loci and transmission belts between rank and file workers, local unions, confederations, central unions, and national and international networks (Galhera and Ribeiro 2014; Rodrigues and Arbix 1996), so local demands are delivered in international networks via, for example, shop stewards. It’s worth mentioning that national networks are realities at Gerdau’s facilities worldwide, as *Comissões de Fábrica* in Brazil and Unity Councils in Canada and the US:

the Unity Council is a smaller group of the Gerdau workers World Council. And actually the Unity Council has been around longer and it’s from there, because Gerdau, they had plants in Brazil, they had one plant in Canada and one plant in the US. And then they had two plants in Canada, three plants in the US, you know, they grew usually one plant at a time, except in one place where they bought a group of four steel plants, they bought it from Northstone, so they took over the entire company, they had four separate facilities , all of which were unionized. So that kind of expanded their North American operation twofold. And at that point, North American facilities already had a Unity Council and when they became Gerdau, there were already some preexisting Gerdau companies and we all got together, we all agreed that we’ll all expand the Unity Council and we’ve doing that ever since. That happened somewhere around 2002/2003, so it’s been going like just over 10 years (verbal information¹³⁴).

The same interview reveals that the network was more of a proactive than a reactive organization in order to avoid a worldwide race to the bottom, due to the company’s internationalization:

Interviewer: Which are in your opinion the main challenges of this network?

¹³⁴Interview with the Canadian leader from Gerdau’s World Committee.Meeting at Gerdau’s Annual Meeting - May 2014.

Interviewee: Hum, trying to *maintain the standards that have already been accomplished* in some areas and *improve standards which have not been matched* yet by the other... because if you don't do that to the other facilities, *if you don't do that you'll finish up with just a race to the bottom*, right? They'll just be, you know, the company will just be taking stuff away until you've got a level playing field but it's way lower than when you started. And in the current steel economy, just hanging on to what you've got is a tough thing to do.

Interviewer: When you say "standards" you mean standards related to wages or to...?

Interviewee: Wages and benefits and vacations and time-off and pensions, quality of life, health and safety... And I didn't put those in any specific order, I mean, at different times, each one of them becomes the priority, I mean, you can't really ignore any one of the components. What we do, we fight fires, you know, political fires, or industrial fires and just cost of living fires. Today, it might be wages the most important thing but you don't forget about health and safety because they cannot pay you enough to replace stringent health and safety controls, you know, it's not a case of "oh well, you know, you've got injured, well, that's why it's a high paying job", we don't subscribe to that (verbal information¹³⁵).

"Improvement", "avoiding a race to the bottom", "benefits" are part of an agenda that is established by workers. They still have a voice and some bargaining power in order to demand unilaterally living and working conditions.

This structure also allows communication efficiency among workers in the rank-and file and operating at the international level with not so much bureaucracy:

Interviewer: How is the workers' organization in Gerdau in the sense that union organizations are affiliated to central unions and then to the international network?

Interviewee: We are lucky of having both. All our communications go to national unions, but also indirectly to the rank-and-file at different Gerdau facilities. A meeting as this as always the combination of some national leaders but also shop stewards. We chose strategically to guarantee both shop stewards and the rank-and-file. We understand that the participation of national unions is worth, because somehow they have the strength to coordinate and disseminate activities, but we also know that they know what is happening in the factory and whether or not they have the capacity of taking action in the factory. We also know that these leaders are always busy. So they participate in a meeting, have phone calls, tell us what is going on. The leader at the factory feels the accountability between their factories and what's going on internationally. So we were lucky of building a structure in which we had representatives in both levels. If there's [a most important and] only level, this is the level of the factory, worth than any other one. We have no affiliates and never felt the necessity of creating a rigid structure. We know that who is and who is not [in the network],

¹³⁵Interview with the Canadian leader from Gerdau's World Committee.Meeting at Gerdau's Annual Meeting - May 2014.

we communicate: on the phone, through e-mails, but there's no rigid structure of affiliation to the Gerdau World Committee (verbal information¹³⁶, own translation).

One high stringent evidence of Gerdau's success as a networks is it's ability to self-maintenance as an arena of struggle despite employer's non support, usually an important issue for union networks, since it facilitates IFAs, workers' councils, legitimacy, comitment, effectiveness, and social dialogue (Gray 2015; 2009)¹³⁷, as it happen to be at Gerdau (verbal information¹³⁸).

Naturally employer's lack of support is a challenging issue for these unions networks, mainly related to financial issues and the social dialogue. According to the workers' network coordinator, "The biggest challenge is the same we have for years: recognition; the company accepts us having as a counterpart in a forum in which we can discuss and somehow negotiate better benefits to workers. This is our actual main

¹³⁶Interview with Gerdau's World Committee's International Coordinator.Meeting at Gerdau's Annual Meeting - May 2014. Original text: "Interviewer: Como é a organização dos trabalhadores em Gerdau no sentido de que são os sindicatos que se filiam as centrais, e as centrais se filiam à rede? Interviewee: Nós tivemos a sorte de ter ambos. Todas as nossas comunicações vão aos sindicatos nacionais, mas também indiretamente aos sindicatos de base nas diferentes fábricas da Gerdau. Uma reunião como essa tem sempre a combinação de alguns dirigentes nacionais, mas também muitos dirigentes das fábricas. Nós optamos estrategicamente de garantir a presença de dirigentes de bases, dirigentes das fábricas. Entendemos que é importante a participação dos sindicatos nacionais porque de alguma maneira tem força para coordenar e difundir as atividades, mas também sabemos que eles sabem o que está passando na fábrica e se terão capacidade de atuar na fábrica. Também sabemos que os dirigentes nacionais na verdade estão todos ocupados. Então eles participam de uma reunião, fazem uma chamada telefônica, contam o que aconteceu. O dirigente da fábrica tem a necessidade da própria supervisão de seu sindicato de ficar atento e atuar de acordo com que está se passando internacionalmente. Tivemos a sorte de poder construir uma estrutura onde temos na realidade representantes dos dois níveis. Se há apenas um nível, tem que ser o nível de fábrica, mais que o nível de sindicato ou qualquer outro. Não temos afiliação, nunca sentimos a necessidade de criar uma estrutura rígida. Sabemos os que estão e os que não estão, nos comunicamos, falamos por telefone, trocamos e-mails, mas não há uma estrutura rígida de afiliação da rede ao Comitê Internacional dos Trabalhadores."

¹³⁷ Additionally, Gray (2015) demonstrates that: "Evidence from this dissertation finds that union networks must choose between a carrot or stick approach to engaging with employers who oppose union networking. A carrot approach entails unions in a network framing networking and transnational dialogue as a "best practice" strategy that is in the company's interests. Unions also have the option of a more assertive approach that utilizes their collective bargaining power to move an employer to recognize a network and sign a transnational agreement. The latter approach, however, has thus far been too daunting for networks to attempt due to the complex and sustained cross-border coordination this type of campaign would entail".

¹³⁸Interview with the Canadian leader from Gerdau's World Committee's International Coordinator.Meeting at Gerdau's Annual Meeting - May 2014.

challenge” (verbal information¹³⁹, our translation) - other challenges include political, material, and operational issues.

According to another interviewee, the company would improve health and safety conditions with such recognition. Also, a somehow positive outcome of non-recognition is the sense of resistance and unity among workers/labor organizations:

Interviewer: Which are the main challenges for maintaining a network with zero employer recognition?

Interviewee: The challenge is self-sufficiency, because the network doesn't count on employer's economic support or recognition: there's no explicit recognition. The employers don't assemble with the network, nor negotiate, but recognize that the network exists. In some occasions the directors welcome us and show will in doing so, as it happened to be in Spain and Brazil (Sorocaba). We met, got gifts, and had lunch in the facilities. I think the heads wanted to get out how we behave, if whether or not we withstand. So they know the network exists and operates. It's a mistake do not recognize it, at least in some aspects. They have, at a propagandistic level, concern with Health & Safety. Between responsibility and what they say there's an important right. They have lots of security standards, but the reality is different. They invest more in the aesthetic aspect (uniforms, painted areas, etc.). They should care more in contracting internal than external people [since these have more experience in dealing with H&S issues], but they completely neglect these aspects. I believe that if one day this non-recognition is broke, it's going to be through an International Committee having as a minimum the security at work [...]. At an international level this obligation simply doesn't exist. I hope that through these international conversations this turn into an obligation. And I return to what I had said: stand up. Who resists, wins (verbal information¹⁴⁰).

¹³⁹Interview with Inditex's International Coordinator at IndustriALL.Meeting held by Skype - June 2014. Original text, translated the Portuguese from Spanish: “O maior desafio é o mesmo que tivemos por anos: é ter o reconhecimento. Que a empresa nos aceite como contraparte em um fórum onde possamos discutir, possamos de alguma maneira negociar melhores benefícios aos trabalhadores de Gerdau. Esse é o principal desafio que temos.”

¹⁴⁰Interview with Gerdau's World Committee's International Coordinator.Meeting at Gerdau's Annual Meeting - May 2014. Original text, from the interview in Spanish and transcribed in Portuguese: “Interviewer: Pra você, quais são os principais desafios da manutenção de uma rede sem o reconhecimento patronal e sem o acordo marco internacional?
Interviewee: O desafio é manter-nos, porque a rede não conta com apoio econômico nem com o apoio da empresa, não conta com um reconhecimento explícito. A empresa não se reúne com a rede, não negocia com a rede, porém reconhece que a rede existe. A empresa quando vamos a alguns países (não a todos, mas alguns países), a direção da fábrica nos recebe, e a direção manifesta quando nos recebe que estão orgulhosos em receber a rede. Isso aconteceu na Espanha, Sorocaba, em vários países. Fizemos uma reunião com eles, nos deram canetas, nos convidaram para almoçar na fábrica. Acho que a direção queria ver como nos comportávamos, como aguentamos, se aguentamos ou não. Eles sabem que a rede existe e que a rede funciona. Porque é um erro não reconhecê-la, pelo menos em alguns aspectos. Eles tem a nível propagandístico muito interesse pela segurança. Entre a realidade e o que eles dizem, há um direito importante. Eles têm muitas normas de segurança, mas a realidade é outra. Eles investem mais no aspecto estético (uniformes, espaços pintados, etc). Deveriam se

Still according to the network's coordinator, although the recognition would bring new challenges, such as settling a substantial part of the agenda, decisions to be taken... "which music to dance" (verbal information¹⁴¹), the openness to the dialogue (and the payment of the good network functioning) would surpass these new challenges.

Due to the employer's lack of support, Gerdau's union network doesn't count on any International Framework Agreement. As in the case of official (un)recognition, participants evaluate that IFAs are an important issue, but in the lack of it the network is not prevented of operating:

Interviewer: Do you think that an international framework agreement is not so important also or it is? Why?

Interviewee: It's very important but it's not the only thing, it doesn't mean that we will fail to exist without it. In essence, it save the company all kinds of money, because you know that cookie cutter example? If they do come to a framework agreement on health safety, which they can just apply across the border, they don't have to rethink anything, you know? It's something that you would think

preocupar mais em coisas como contratar pessoas de dentro do que de fora, mas eles descuidam totalmente desses aspectos. Acredito que se um dia esse não reconhecimento se rompe, será através da existência de um Comitê Internacional como mínimo de segurança laboral [...]. A nível internacional essa obrigação já não existe. Espero que através dessas discussões internacionais isso seja uma obrigação. E volto ao que eu dizia: Manter-nos. Quem resiste ganha."

¹⁴¹Interview with Inditex's International Coordinator at IndustriALL.Meeting held by Skype - June 2014.

Original text, translated the Portuguese from Spanish: "Interviewer: Pra você, quais são os principais desafios da manutenção de uma rede sem o reconhecimento patronal e sem o acordo marco internacional?"

Interviewee: O desafio é manter-nos, porque a rede não conta com apoio econômico nem com o apoio da empresa, não conta com um reconhecimento explícito. A empresa não se reúne com a rede, não negocia com a rede, porém reconhece que a rede existe. A empresa quando vamos a alguns países (não a todos, mas alguns países), a direção da fábrica nos recebe, e a direção manifesta quando nos recebe que estão orgulhosos em receber a rede. Isso aconteceu na Espanha, Sorocaba, em vários países. Fizemos uma reunião com eles, nos deram canetas, nos convidaram para almoçar na fábrica. Acho que a direção queria ver como nos comportávamos, como aguentamos, se aguentamos ou não. Eles sabem que a rede existe e que a rede funciona. Porque é um erro não reconhecê-la, pelo menos em alguns aspectos. Eles tem a nível propagandístico muito interesse pela segurança. Entre a realidade e o que eles dizem, há um direito importante. Eles têm muitas normas de segurança, mas a realidade é outra. Eles investem mais no aspecto estético (uniformes, espaços pintados, etc). Deveriam se preocupar mais em coisas como contratar pessoas de dentro do que de fora, mas eles descuidam totalmente desses aspectos. Acredito que se um dia esse não reconhecimento se rompe, será através da existência de um Comitê Internacional como mínimo de segurança laboral [...]. A nível internacional essa obrigação já não existe. Espero que através dessas discussões internacionais isso seja uma obrigação. E volto ao que eu dizia: Manter-nos. Quem resiste ganha."

would be so simple to implement, and it is, but it's not their idea and they detest anything, doesn't matter how good the idea is, they detest anything coming from the union that has the potential of being applied (verbal information¹⁴²).

Benefits of an IFA would include:

Informing, participating, and not taking decisions before consulting the International Committee. Therefore, this means that first-hand information would be available and a representative of the company's council would participate. Thus, we would have first-hand information and the company wouldn't take any decision without consultation. The council - and the possibility of negotiating - before imposing a series of actions. This is of fundamental importance for me (verbal information¹⁴³).

Steel workers, however, are still a professional category less precarious than others, as textile workers or outsourced ones. As one of our interviewed states, "Gerdau has an expressive outsourced part. We didn't reach in there [...] we have to look for mechanisms to be sufficiently audacious to reach or to think the industry as a whole, not as the big steel producers" (verbal information, own translation¹⁴⁴).

One way of diminishing gendered imbalances of labor markets in union organizations would include women participating more actively in their routines. However, this is not a reality in labor organizations in general, nor in Gerdau's network in particular. When asked about women in the committee, one unionist stated:

Why don't you talk about laundry, you know, you know as much about that as you do about getting women in the network, it's an old boys club, you know? What you need to do is get to a women's union, and enlarge such things. [...] And some guys, I mean these guys, it's a bunch of dicks, they're scared shitless of women telling them what to do or you know, having to compete with a woman. I don't like quotas but in some cases that's the only way you're going to

¹⁴²Interview with the Canadian leader from Gerdau's World Committee.Meeting at Gerdau's Annual Meeting - May 2014.

¹⁴³Interview with Inditex's International Coordinator at IndustriALL.Meeting held by Skype - June 2014. Original text, translated the Portuguese from Spanish: "Informar, participar, e não poder tomar nenhuma decisão, senão consultar o Comitê Internacional. Portanto isso significa que haveria informação em primeira mão, participaria um representante do conselho da empresa. Portanto o fundamental seria que teríamos informações em primeira mão, e a empresa não poderia tomar nenhuma decisão que não fosse consultada. Com esse conselho – e, portanto a possibilidade de negociar – antes que impusessem uma série de medidas .Para mim é fundamental."

¹⁴⁴Interview with Gerdau's World Committee's International Coordinator.Meeting at Gerdau's Annual Meeting - May 2014. Original text: "Gerdau vive de uma terceira parte da produção com terceirizados, trabalhando para contratá-los. Não chegamos aí [...] temos que buscar mecanismos para sermos suficientemente audaciosos para alcançar ou para pensar na indústria siderúrgica como um todo, não como as grandes empresas produtoras de aço"

accomplish anything [...]. When it comes to putting women in specific roles, I don't care if you're a man, woman, black, white, green.... If you can do the job effectively, you might not even have to be the best, you know? Just as long as you do it effectively and you don't do it for your own(verbal information¹⁴⁵).

So, how would international networks work for these other industries and workers?

4.2 Top-down international network - Inditex

The Gerdau Network shows that workers constructed a model of organizing and bargaining horizontally, with participation of workers, representatives of most countries in which the company operates, strong participation of the basis (i.e. works, councils/ *comissões de fábrica* in Brazil, partnership with the local community in Texas, Unity Councils, national networks in exchange with the international, bridge building, and etc.). Thus, for the Gerdau Network, a *bottom up model* fits better. The Inditex Network, by its turn, fits better in a *top down model*. Considering the sector in which the company operates, it makes more sense referring to organizational – not workers' – action, vertically, with less participation of the rank-and-file and more participation of union leaders. Characteristics of this industry – for the intersectional points signaled – turns more challenging organization of workers. These characteristics include fragmentation, more precarious jobs¹⁴⁶, and a larger supply chain (which includes Europe, Americas, Asia Pacific, Middle East and Africa) (Niforou 2012: 12).

¹⁴⁵ (i) Interview with the Canadian leader from Gerdau's World Committee's International Coordinator. Meeting at Gerdau's Annual Meeting - May 2014. (ii) Interview with Gerdau's World Committee's International Coordinator. Meeting at Gerdau's Annual Meeting - May 2014. (iii) Interview with the former Coordinator of Projects at Building and Wood's International. Formation assistant at Sindsaude (Sao Paulo) - July 2014.

¹⁴⁶ "There are two ways of defining what we mean by the precariat. One is to say it is a distinctive socio-economic group, so that by definition a person is in it or not in it. [...] We may claim that the precariat is a class-in-the-making, if not yet a class-for-itself, in the Marxian sense of that term. Thinking in terms of social groups, we may say that, leaving aside agrarian societies, the globalisation era has resulted in a fragmentation of national class structures. As inequalities grew, and as the world moved

There are approximately six thousand suppliers and more than one million workers at the supply chain at Inditex (IndustriALL 2014). The company is one of the largest companies in the fashion industry and “approximately 50 percent of its production is manufactured in proximity countries to Spain such as Turkey, Portugal and Morocco. Other key areas of production include Brazil, Argentina, Pakistan, China, India, Bangladesh and Southeast Asia” (IndustriALL 2014). Cases of modern slavery are found frequently. In Brazil, these cases were found in small sweatshops in Sao Paulo city that employed mostly Bolivian workers, for instance, to the Zara brand (at Inditex’s supply chain). It’s worth mentioning that if it is hard to organize workers in the garment industry, it’s even harder to do so among Bolivian immigrant workers, due to the higher fragmentation of the sector in the city, the “double informality”¹⁴⁷ (immigrants *sin papeles* nor the formal registration that provides job stability and rights to workers), limits of public organizations to make companies accountable, such as the Public Ministry or Public Ministry of Labor and time of permanence in Brazil that discourage political engagement (Veiga and Galhera 2015).

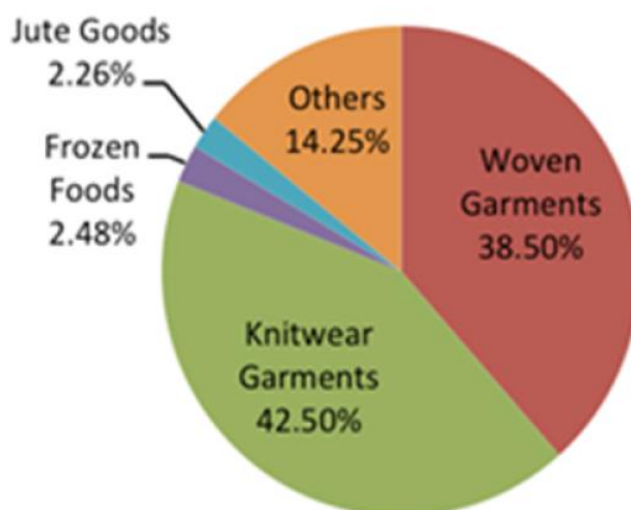
Given this scenario, it is more likely that in this industry labor union’s tactics are more of top-down design, including institutions as summit meetings, private compliance (as International Framework Agreements and Corporate Social Responsibility), auditing, and health and safety, instead of forum with direct participation and empowerment of workers, such as works’ councils and periodic meetings with the presence of shop stewards, as it currently happens at the Gerdau network. At Inditex the design of struggle is more paternalistic. The focal point at the Inditex Network is a Spanish male middle-age unionist in an industry that worldwide has as profile young women of color.

towards a flexible open labour market, class did not disappear. Rather, a more fragmented global class structure emerged”. (Standing 2011: 7)

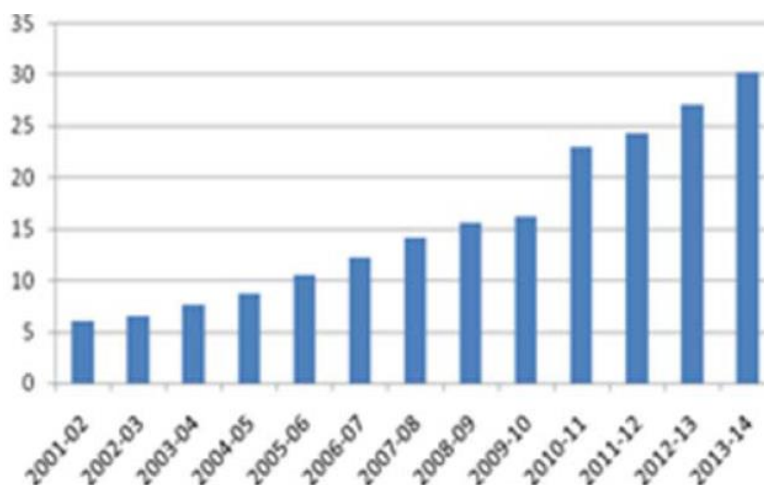
¹⁴⁷ It’s problematic to use the term “double informality”. A citizen is recognized as such in his territory, so the condition of “illegal immigrant” is conditioned by the legitimization of the *status quo*. Likewise, an informal worker is still a worker, even though in this condition as the *status quo*. However, in the absence of a better term, this is the one that will be used in to explain the situation of immigrants *sin papeles* in the garment sector in Sao Paulo.

It's not surprisingly, thus, that arenas of struggles, policy agendas or "repertoires of contention" (Tilly 1986) are promoted outside the arena of labor unions, although frequently in partnership with them. Immigrant worker women of color are excluded from either arenas of power – as the state and multinational corporations - and arenas of struggles – as labor unions and bodies of regulation in the state, all of them the "bodies of knowledge" (Foucault 1997 [1975]) of social (un)regulation. Take the Bangladeshi case, for instance. Garments represent around 81% of total exports in the country, in 2014 (see table below), and exports have been increasing substantially recently (see numbers below as well). The Bengali industry employs more than 4 million workers, in which over 80% are migrant women. The industry is marked by clientelism and cronyism, and "pays the lowest minimum wage (US\$ 68/ month) among the top ten apparel-exporting countries" (Khan and Wichterich 2015: 2-4; ILO 2014 qtd Khan and Wichterich 2015: 4).

Graph 25 – Sectoral Share of Total Bengali Exports (2014)



Source: Bangladesh Bank Monetary Policy Department (2014). **Major Economic Indicators**. Available at: <https://bangladesh-bank.org/pub/monthly/selectedecooind/magecoindsep2014.pdf>. Accessed in September 29th, 2016. Quoted in: Khan, Mohd Raisul Islam, and Christa Wichterich. Safety and labour conditions: the accord and the national tripartite plan of action for the garment industry of Bangladesh. ILO, 2015.

Graph 26 – Bangladesh Exports (Billion US\$)

Source: Ministry of Commerce, Bangladesh (2014). **Major Economic Indicators.** Available at: http://www.mincom.gov.bd/export_info.php. Accessed in September 29th, 2016. Quoted in: Khan, Mohd Raisul Islam, and Christa Wichterich. Safety and labour conditions: the accord and the national tripartite plan of action for the garment industry of Bangladesh. ILO, 2015.

These migrant worker women of color from the Global South are also out of the state and labor union arenas. The Congress is a forum for “the Convergence of state and entrepreneurs’ interest in RMG [Readymade Garment Industry] as a leading foreign exchange earner [and] The government assists factory owners to suppress any labor organizing attempts” (Khan and Wichterich 2015: 8). Regarding unions, less than 10% of the sector is unionized (Khan and Wichterich 2015). Additionally:

While women workers are reluctant to join union federations because of their male-dominated hierarchies and their closeness to political power, women workers organized spontaneous protests e.g. against non-payment of overtime. Since 1994 some of them are organized in the Bangladesh Independent Garment Workers Union (BIGUF). This informal union goes beyond a narrow conventional trade unionist approach, addresses everyday needs of women and promotes female leadership (Dannecker 2000).

A closer look to political actors related to the Rana Plaza case illustrates the argument. A series of organizations and right-based groups answered the event, such as ILO, IndustriALL and UNI Global Union, United Federation of Garments Workers,

National Garment Workers Federation, Clean Clothes Campaign e Workers Rights Consortium¹⁴⁸ (Veiga and Galhera 2017).

ILO sent a tripartite high commission with stakeholders to the event, submitted a suggestion of labor reform to the Bangladeshi Congress, promoted inspections, the National Tripartite Plan of Action¹⁴⁹ and the Better Work joint management (part of the International Labor Organization-International Finance Corporation/ ILO-IFC)¹⁵⁰ (ILO 2013a), and public letters at First May of that year (ILO 2013b). Into the Bengali state the crisis led to a change in the “structure of political opportunity” (Tarrow 1998), diminishing the relation of clientelism, nepotism, cronyism and rent-seeking between the Bangladesh Garment Manufacturers and Exporters Association (BGMEA, the employers’ association) and the Congress dominated by the Bangladesh Awami League (Khan and Wichterich 2015). National and international labor unions got stronger with the co-responsibility of labor unions in national binding accords and new international ones (Khan and Wichterich 2015; Accord 2016). Other social movements also contributed with pressuring and regulation: the United Students Against Sweatshops promoted pressures in universities and the World Social March of Women promoted solidarity with Rana Plaza (MMM, 2015). NGOs invested particularly in name and shame strategies: Clean Clothes Campaign (2015) promoted, for instance, the campaign “PayUp!”, and monitoring (Veiga and Galhera 2017).

The Bengali event led to two multi-stakeholder and binding agreements: the Accord on Fire and Building Safety in Bangladesh (known as the Accord) internationally, signed by about 200 hundred companies (not signed by GAP and Wal-Mart, being

¹⁴⁸ United Federation of Garments Workers and National Garment Workers Federation are class associations involved with Rana Plaza’s the institutional arrangements, aligned with IOs. Clean Clothes Campaign is an organization dedicated to improve working and living conditions of workers in the textile industry. Workers Rights Consortium is an independent organization monitoring workers’ rights.

¹⁴⁹ National tripartite accord between the Ministry of Labor, workers and employers, with support of the ILO.

¹⁵⁰ ILO’s program to improve working conditions in supply chains and to promote competitiveness into companies.

afraid of be linked to the event¹⁵¹) and the National Tripartite Plan of Action (NTPA), nationally. There's also the Alliance for Bangladesh Workers' Safety (known as The Alliance), a voluntary non-binding – softer – association performed by Wal-Mart and GAP that refused to sign the previous mentioned ones. None of them included the Bangladesh Independent Garment Workers Union¹⁵². Additionally, as mentioned in the introduction of this research, “after an initially good take-off, the activities lost pace and intensity and the remediation came almost to a standstill [due to the] underlying power structures of the transnational apparel chains and the actual imbalance of power among the stakeholders” (Khan and Wichterich 2015: III)¹⁵³. So, even if “On average, 80 per cent of the workforce was female, and some of the most common rights abuses included sexual harassment, the firing of pregnant women, and denial of maternity leave” (Anner; Evans 2004: 37), working and waging conditions in this sector keep as core actions in the women's movement, as shown by one of the World March of Women in benefit of Rana Plaza workers. Thus, excluded or marginalized from the “bodies of knowledge” in societies – as labor markets, the state, and labor unions –, (im)migrant

¹⁵¹ An agreement that constituted a Solidarity Fund was reached to compensate the victims that didn't reach more than US\$ 19,4 million. This Fund was provided by multinational corporations that buy in the country (directly or not linked to the damaged factories) and some institutions of European governments. About US\$ 40 million is needed, according to the ILO. (Intervención sindical – la experiencia de Inditex 2014).

Original text: “Se alcanzó también un Acuerdo constituyendo un Fondo de Solidaridad para indemnizar a las víctimas y que no ha logrado reunir más que 19,4 millones de USD (dólares de EEUU), aportados por multinacionales que compran en el país (directamente vinculadas unas a las fábricas siniestradas y otras sin tal vinculación) y algunas instituciones de gobiernos europeos, cuando se precisan unos 40 millones según cálculos basados en el Convenio de la OIT”.

¹⁵² Signatories of The Accord were Jyrki Raina, IndustriALL Global Union's General Secretary; Philip Jennings, UNI Global Union's General Secretary, and the company (The Accord 2013). Signatoires of NTPA were Joint Secretary (Labour), Ministry of Labour and Employment; Director of Labour, Department of Labour; Deputy Secretary (Labour), Ministry of Labour and Employment; Chief Inspector, Department of Inspection for Factories and Establishments; Chairperson, Rajdhani Unnayan Kartripakkha (RAJUK); Director General, Bangladesh Fire Service and Civil Defense; President, Bangladesh Employers Federation; President, Bangladesh Garment Manufacturers and Exporter's Association; President, Bangladesh Knitwear Manufacturers and Exporter's Association; Chairperson, National Coordination Committee for Worker's Education; Secretary General, IndustriALL Bangladesh Council (NTPA 2013).

¹⁵³ In this case, the stakeholders are: transnational corporations (the buyers), national firms (the suppliers), the Government of Bangladesh and its institutions, an international agency, the ILO, global and national trade unions, other civil society organizations and campaigns representing consumers (Khan and Wichterich 2015: 13).

worker women of color from the Global South don't have a voice in the decision of their own bodies.

So, for the garment sector international labor struggles are either paternalistic and associational. In this industry a bunch of institutions out of the labor union's struggle arena have been established.

In 2001 Inditex elaborated a "code of conduct for external manufacturers and suppliers", modified in 2007. The signature of the accord in 2007 – between the company's Chief Executive Officer (CEO) and at that time the general-secretary of the International Textile, Garment and Leather Workers Federation (ITGLWF), before the fusion with IndustriALL – happened to be bilaterally, without the involvement of national union organizations: "Inditex and ITGLWF have agreed to establish a collaborative International Framework Agreement" (AMI Inditex 2007). This was the first agreement with a Spanish multinational company and also the first one in the garment industry. In 2006, special guidelines were elaborated to the implementation of the Code of Conduct.

In analyzing Inditex's previous agreement¹⁵⁴, Gregoratti and Miller (2001) conclude that this agreement was not effective in guaranteeing factory-level bargaining and sustainable rights, although it was effective in individual cases. Successful implementation of the agreement's content was more related to usual practices of pressure (as campaigns) than with the agreement content. Additionally, as this IFA was limited to ILO core labor standards, it didn't differ much from codes of conduct.

In 2012, the "Protocol to specify the role of trade unions in the enforcement of the International Framework Agreement within Inditex's supply chain" was signed. In 2014, the accord was renewed and named "Inditex's Code of Conduct for External Manufacturers and Suppliers" (Inditex 2012; IndustriALL 2015; Niforou 2012). In Brazil, the international coordinator for the implementation of the IFA dialogues mainly with the National Confederation of Workers in the Textile, Clothing, Leather, and Shoes Industry (*Confederação Nacional dos Trabalhadores nas Indústrias do Setor Têxtil, Vestuário,*

¹⁵⁴ The 2007's IFA agreed between the International Textile, Garment, Leather Workers Federation (before its incorporation to IndustriALL) and Inditex.

Couro e Calçados, or CONACCOVEST), from Union Force/ *Força Sindical*, and the National Confederation of Workers in the Textile, Leather, and Shoes Industry (*Confederação Nacional dos Trabalhadores na Indústria Têxtil, Couro e Calçado*, or CNTV), from CUT.

4.2.1 The top-down structure of networks at the garment industry - the case of International Framework Agreements

The recent accords are evolutions of previous ones. The accords signed until 2014 were more vertical and top down. The new ones count on more participation of workers, even though are still more vertical and top down than other accords from other industries. It's worth mentioning that international agreements show better results when *local actors are already empowered*. In example, Portuguese unions avoided the firing of 140 workers in negotiations that involved the ITGLWF (today IndustriALL), the director of Corporate Social Responsibility from Inditex, the management at the factory willing to fire the workers, and the business association (Niforou 2012). The industrial restructuring and the relative incapacity of workers' articulation, however, are structural issues that pressure the reformist efforts of unions. In other words, it's worth for Inditex to have a contract with IndustriALL and offer some light monitoring on the supply chain, given that a very close level of previous exploitation is maintained in GSCs. Before Bangladesh, accidents at work in the factory "Smart Fashions", in January 26th, 2013, lead to the death of seven and two hundred workers got injured (IndustriALL 2013b). This "small" number for the industry standards is higher than the history of all accidents and injuries at Gerdau¹⁵⁵. At a Zara's supplier, 15 workers were found in modern slavery in São Paulo city and Americana (SP) in 2011, and in

¹⁵⁵ See, for instance, relative numbers of fatal accidents reported by IndustriALL. Available at: http://www.industriall-union.org/number-of-fatalities-rises-to-ten-at-gerdaus-brazil-plant?utm_source=Newsletters+in+english&utm_campaign=022468f441-EMAIL_CAMPAIGN_2017_10_19&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_65751b77d5-022468f441-19094497. Accessed in October 2010.

Argentina in 2013 (Repórter Brasil 2014). Even if Gerdau workers face in numerous situations regarding labor and living conditions at the company, modern slavery was never found in the supply chain. Finally, there's the Rana Plaza case, often compared to Bhopal and Chernobyl as industrial cataclysms.

Rana Plaza shows that women's work as a second class work is not a new issue. The case has many parallels with the Triangle Factory event. In March 8th, 1857 – currently known as Women's Day – dozens of women were locked inside a burning factory, in an attempt to raise their own wages. The company's posture was first alleging that didn't know the working conditions at the suppliers, then moderate cooperation and co-responsibility. Surprisingly or not, Inditex is one of the most responsible companies in this sector. In Brazil, when modern slavery was found in Zara's supply chain, the company refused to acknowledge co-responsibility in supply chains, although this formal judiciary issue is foreseeable in Brazilian labor laws¹⁵⁶. The company recognized co-responsibility three years later modern slavery was found in outsourced company's sweatshop/ suppliers (Repórter Brasil 2014).

It's noteworthy, thus, that from the employers' perspective, for the garment sector nothing or little is lost financially the establishment of agreements with union organizations. The sectorial design, by itself, is lucrative and based on the exploitation of poor women from the Global South, often young, (im)migrant and of color. Declaring itself socially responsible and taking measures to improve workers' living and working conditions in the supply chain benefits the company's image in an industry in which this image is important to keep sales high. International unionism realized this issue. The "Protocol to Specify the Role of Trade Unions in the Enforcement of the International Framework Agreement within Inditex's Supply Chain" asserts that:

¹⁵⁶ In Brazil, the law that regulates outsourcing is the Law 6.019, promulgated in 1964. After this law, the legal figure that regulates (at the same time that legitimizes) outsourcing is the Precedent 331, from the Superior Labor Court (*Tribunal Superior do Trabalho*, or TST). The precedent opened to attribute responsibility and justification to judge outsourcing is the SDI-1, in base of the Constitution and the principle of the dignity of the human being. Having as a starting point this precedent, it has been possible to judge and make responsible big companies by the outsourcing over smaller and undercontracted ones.

[...] local unions would monitor, control and reinforce the IFA in supply chains and would work together with Country CSR managers of Inditex. Also, training projects would be carried out with managers and workers to inform these agreements and improve labour relations. In May 2012 the parties agreed on another protocol to strengthen local unions' role in the application of the IFA and details of the training project were clarified (Kormaz 2013).

The pilot of the new Inditex training program happened in Turkey, aiming to “support Turkish trade unions to unite with workers of unorganized companies in Inditex supply chain and create favourable conditions for unions to get organized, [which] would encourage Turkish companies to recognise labour rights and not involve in anti-union activities” (Kormaz 2013).

Therefore, Rana Plaza was a political opportunity to the 2014 agreement and also a new mark to the international unionism in the sector: “It’s essential, nowadays, [...] to highlight that the Rana Plaza event and its reactions are the beginning of a new phase¹⁵⁷” (Intervención sindical – la experiencia de Inditex 2014: 11). This “new phase” brought also a soft change in the IFA’s enforcement methodology: the effort of involving rank-and-file workers has been done, although the comparative top-down design keeps being the main mark of the international unionism in the company. The procedures of the Inditex networks include visits of the coordinator in countries that have production plants (meetings with union leaders), and workshops with workers, unionists, management’s, IndustriALL’s representatives (when possible), and representatives from the Spanish Textile-Skin, Chemical and Others Union Federation of Workers Commissions (*Federación Industrias Textil-Piel Químicas y Afines Confederación Sindical de Comisiones Obreras* – FITEQA CCOO) that also leads the network (Intervención sindical – la experiencia de Inditex 2014: 11). At the end of 2015, according to the Inditex Network Coordinator, this procedure was driven in Argentina, Brazil, China, and Turkey¹⁵⁸ (not in Bangladesh, despite Rana Plaza).

¹⁵⁷ Original text: “Lo esencial a día de hoy es [...] subrayar que la catástrofe de Rana Plaza en Bangladesh y las reacciones que ha suscitado significan el comienzo de una nueva etapa”.

¹⁵⁸ Interview with Inditex’s International Coordinator at IndustriALL. Meeting held by Skype - June 2014.

The Inditex IFA include facilitation to access information from factories in the supply chain (3.500 active units in 2013); coordination with unions from Portugal, Morocco, Turkey, Cambodia, Brazil, Argentina, Tunisia, Vietnam, and China; visit to suppliers in a union-employer delegation that include interview with the management, visits in the facilities, and interviews with the union delegation, workers and their shop steward; definitions of labor and employment laws, rules, and procedures per country. This methodology began “to work successfully in Portugal, Turkey, Cambodia and Brazil”¹⁵⁹ (Intervención sindical – la experiencia de Inditex 2014: 11) and included Brazil, the union delegation included the vice-secretary of IndustriALL (responsible for the sector in the organization), a representative of IndustriALL’s Latin American Office, a representative of the FITEQA-CCOO’s Corporate Social Responsibility department, CONACCOVEST’s director, Sao Paulo Garment Workers union’s director and journalist, and the coordinator for implementing Inditex’s IFA. In this visit, the cohort visited factories in Sao Paulo city and other cities in the state with direct or outsourced workers of the company (Aproximación sindical a la industria de la confección de Sao Paulo 2013). None of the sweatshops pointed out pertaining modern slavery was visited. In the visits’ report, the sweatshops found with immigrants in labor conditions of modern slavery had one paragraph of attention:

[...] one issue approached by the Sao Paulo Garment Workers union was immigration. Because of the relevance of Sao Paulo state’s economy, there are expressive flows of Bolivian, Paraguayan, and Peruvian immigration. Lots of immigrants are incorporated in the economy [...] [resulting] often in illegal sweatshops in the houses of immigrants from the same country, usually Bolivians. The union pays especial attention to this issue and develops a permanent campaign [...] [to] advocate for the rights of workers [...]. Additionally, the Brazilian legislation allows Bolivian’s legalization for living and working, as well as other countries’, even though not for all illegal workers. In 2011, with active collaboration from Inditex, around 30 production spots and workers were legalized. At that moment diverse activities to mitigate this issue were promoted and I [Inditex Network’s coordinator] participated in some of them. According to the Sao Paulo Garment Workers union nowadays the company’s supply chain *looks like regulated*, and keeps as a theme with overall participation. There’s, still, raise of immigrant union affiliation, some of them (mainly Bolivians), participation in the position of union leadership

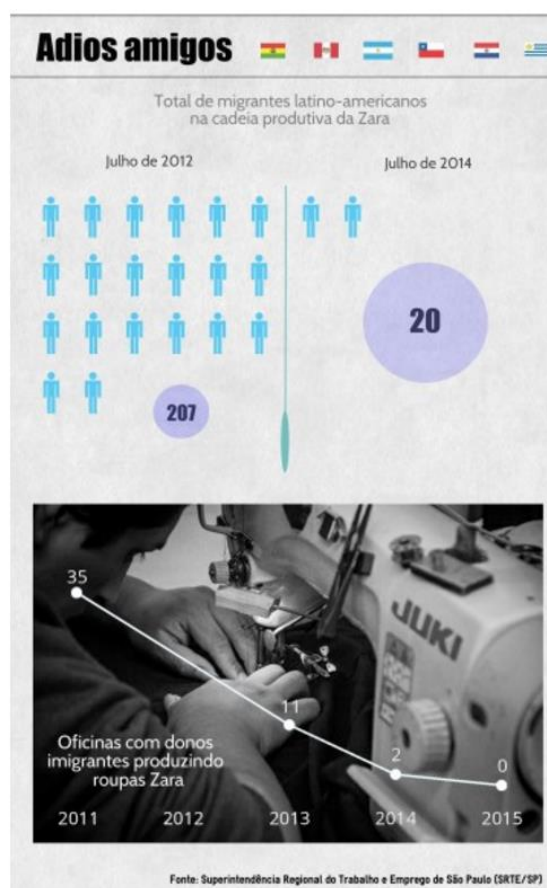
¹⁵⁹ Original text: “empezado a funcionar con éxito en Portugal, Turquía, Camboya y Brasil”.

(Aproximación sindical a la industria de la confección de Sao Paulo 2013: 8, my emphasis and translation¹⁶⁰).

Actually the company progressively eliminated sweatshops of immigrants from its supply chain, instead of becoming actually socially responsible, until eliminating them completely in 2015. The Brazilian Ministry of Labor and Employment (*Ministério do Trabalho e Emprego* – MTE) addressed a penalty of R\$ 838 thousand due to discrimination (Repórter Brasil 2015). One of the reasons is the lack of organization among the rank and file. Inditex's IFA and auditing, however, instead of taking into account the conditions of low incentives for engagement of immigrant – the larger supply chain –, opts for a weak methodology for investigating solely the workers directly employed. Around about 5 factories in 2014 and 26 in 2015 were audited with IndustriALL's involvement in 2015.

¹⁶⁰ Original text: “[...] cuestión abordada con el Sindicato de Costureiras fue el tema de la inmigración. Al estado de Sao Paulo, por su importante actividad económica, acude una importante inmigración de Bolivia, Paraguay y Perú principalmente. Muchos inmigrantes se incorporan a la economía [...] [que resulta] muchas veces de talleres ilegales en domicilios de algunos inmigrantes del mismo país, bolivianos en particular. El Sindicato presta una particular atención al mismo y desarrolla una permanente campaña [...] [para] defender los derechos de los trabajadores [...]. La legislación brasileña posibilita además la legalización de residencia y trabajo de los inmigrantes de origen boliviano y de algunos otros países, aunque no de todos, que se encuentran en tal situación. Ya en 2011, con una activa colaboración por parte de Inditex, se logró aflorar unos 30 talleres que trabajaban para proveedores de ésta, y regularizar a los trabajadores afectados. E naquel momento realizamos un trabajo concreto en Sao Paulo, participando por mi parte, en septiembre 2011, en diversas actividades en este sentido. Ahora el Sindicato de Costureiras nos informa de que parece regularizada toda la cadena de producción de Inditex, aunque sigue siendo éste un tema de permanente atención por parte de todos. Nos han informado asimismo de que están consiguiendo una importante afiliación de trabajadores inmigrantes, algunos de los cuales, principalmente bolivianos, participan ya en los órganos de dirección sindical”.

Table 8 - Latin American immigrants at Zara's supply chain in Brazil (2014)



The information from the union was that, in a population of 80,000 workers, around 35,000 would be unionized (Aproximación sindical a la industria de la confección de Sao Paulo 2013). The NGO Center of Support for Immigrants (Centro de Apoio ao Migrante – CAMI), one of the most important ones to attend Latin American immigrants, calculates about 300 thousand Latin American immigrants in the Sao Paulo Metropolitan Region and most of them work in the garment sector (Veiga and Galhera 2014).

According to the coordinator for the Inditex IFA's enforcement, the problem was "detected and corrected"¹⁶¹. The main challenge in (trying to do so) was, as we saw in one of the sectorial design characteristics, the small sweatshops spread and hidden along the city. IFA's enforcement involves, still, the participation of unionists, because of easier access to the shop floor, and internal auditors, that verify technical issues related to labor conditions. According to the Inditex's union leader, the difficulty in enforcing the IFA was not due to the character top-down of the agreement itself, but in the emergency that "unions get more advanced, have more filiations, get more present in the companies"¹⁶². In fact, one of the main challenges for the compliance of the agreement is the debility of national unions, even if it doesn't affect particularly Brazil, one of the countries with national strong unions, according to the coordinator:

In Brazil in the garment industry, at least at the Sao Paulo zone, the unions seem stronger and better situated. From my perspective, CUT has a more serious structure. They are developing activities in we can support.

Interviewer: What is usually do in countries with weak unions and labor laws?

This is an important issue, that however nor me nor the Spanish/ international union can solve. It's something that the workers in the country should solve. What we can do with the IFA is to facilitate this issue, sometimes with complicated issues, i.e., in most countries unions follow up with me in in meetings with individual workers and groups, interviewing them. Our work of implementation of an IFA makes easier union activities. In Bangladesh, a country reached for lots of issues, the union increased notably, from 1% to 2% of union density. Therefore, in our international role my role as coordinator may help, but will never solve the problem¹⁶³.

¹⁶¹Interview with Inditex's International Coordinator at IndustriALL. Meeting held by Skype - June 2014.

¹⁶²Interview with Inditex's International Coordinator at IndustriALL. Meeting held by Skype - June 2014. Original quote from the interview: "Que los sindicatos desarrollen más, tengan más afiliación, y más presencia en las empresas".

¹⁶³Interview with Inditex's International Coordinator at IndustriALL. Meeting held by Skype - June 2014. Original quote from the interview: "Entrevistado: En el caso de Brasil en la industria textil, por lo menos en la zona de SP, la unión de costureras parece más establecidos y más fuerte. La CUT tiene uno, que en mi opinión tiene una estructura más grave. Se están desarrollando actividades y la posibilidad de ayudálos de trabajo.

Entrevistadora: ¿Cómo se hace en los países en que no existen sindicatos fuertes o leyes nacionales que protegen a los trabajadores pueden ser fuertes, por ejemplo, en Bangladesh, Vietnam, Pakistán? Entrevistado: Este es un problema importante, pero ni yo ni la unión de España / Internacional puede resolver. Son los propios trabajadores que deben resolver. ¿Qué podemos hacer con el acuerdo marco se pretende facilitar este problema. Facilitálas a veces los problemas complicados, tales como, por ejemplo, en la mayoría de países de la unión del país en fábricas con mí, hacer reuniones con los trabajadores individuales y también grupos tienen entrevistas con ellos. Nuestro trabajo de aplicación del acuerdo marco facilita la unión del país para desarrollar su actividad. Lo que no se garantiza la

This scenario shows the contradictions between Inditex's (and companies in general) in exaggerating outcomes through annual reports and corporate governance schemes. In fact, Inditex celebrates the 11th cluster in Cambodia – “a valuable tool for introducing at the local level the global standards and principles set out in Inditex's Strategic Plan for a stable and sustainable supply chain 2014-2018” (Inditex 2016: 55) – indicating other supposedly successful cases¹⁶⁴ as examples of good governance. Brazil is one of them. According the company's annual report, *all* orders (100% of orders) are ensured in provenience. In other words, eliminating foreign Latin American workers indeed reaches the efficiency and efficacy paradigms of corporate governance, although unemploying honest and hard working people.

Another critique is related to the *level* of auditing, compliance and, therefore, corporate governance model in this industry. As demonstrated through the buyer-driven model, suppliers are one of the important steps in pressuring factories, sweatshops, and other forms of local producing in this industry's commodity chain. In Brazil, for instance, there are two auditors to monitor 15 suppliers with a 69% of compliance (Inditex 2016: 57) into the Brazilian commodity chain, despite the mentioned 300 sweatshops through Sao Paulo, according the Center of Support for Immigrants.

The traceability process, methods and compliance mechanisms are constant outsourcing of responsibilities through the commodity chain. According to the company, it includes assign of third parts by manufactures and suppliers only through written authorization of Inditex, responsabiliting manufactures and suppliers the enforcement of the Code of Conduct; an integrated logistics and administration Manufacturer Management System with suppliers (no explanation of why a model to increased efficiency would include labor standards in the supply chain); audits for evaluation of

resolución de las restricciones del sindicato. Por ejemplo Bangladesh es un país castigado por muchas cuestiones, el sindicato textil ha crecido notablemente. Yo tenía una membresía de 1% y el 2% actual. Así que en nuestro trabajo internacional, mi papel como coordinador acuerdo marco puede ayudar, pero no puede resolver el problema.”

¹⁶⁴ “These 11 clusters (in Spain, Portugal, Morocco, Turkey, India, Bangladesh, Vietnam China, Brazil, Argentina and Cambodia) cover 91% of Inditex's total global production” (Inditex 2016: 55).

production capacity, processes and timeframes (same question); “good practices” and methodology for monitoring and control; experts for protection against unknown outsourcing; purchasing teams collaborating with sustainability teams to hire “Only those suppliers and manufacturers that comply with Inditex’s social, environmental, and product health and safety policies” (Inditex 2016: 41); traceability audits (2,886 in 2015); accredited by Social Accountability International (SAI), as SA8000, inspired by Conventions of the International Labour Organization, the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and International Convention on the Rights of the Child. It’s worth mentioning, still, that the company applies its own methods on the traceability and compliance processes (Inditex 2016). The compliance process is quite high: A and B classifications around are 95%, an indicator that doesn’t reflect the reality of often slavery-like conditions at the company’s supply chain.

Again, the Brazilian example: in the Brazilian law, brand-named corporations are co-responsible for labor violations in main activities in the whole supply chain. In focusing the corporate governance support in suppliers, Inditex is overburdening the state – Brazilian public entities – in monitoring labor and living conditions. Additionally, Inditex has a significant record of not admitting or cooperating with the Brazilian Public Ministry (Ministério Público) or the Public Ministry of Labor (Ministerio Publico do Trabalho) (Reporter Brasil 2014).

Inditex has also been substituting old and consolidating organizations by tokenized ones, created by the company to “deal with” problems in its corporate governance structures. In Sao Paulo city (capital of São Paulo state), there are important organizations working historically with the rank-and-file and marginalized working poor such as CAMI and Missão Paz. These organizations are mostly influenced by the Liberation Theology – a Christian theological philosophical current that interprets messages of Jesus Christ fighting unfair economic, political, and social conditions. Inditex “Implementation in Sao Paulo of an immigrant integration centre (Centro de Integración a la Ciudadanía del Inmigrante)” (Inditex 2016: 57) was an answer to the pressure of public entities, as the Public Ministry of Labor, through the Terms of

Conduct Adjusting (*Términos de Ajustes de Conducta*, or TACs) with companies accused of employing slavery-like working conditions, such as Inditex (Zara brand) and Restoque (Le Lis Blanc brand) (Folha de S. Paulo/ Los Hermanos 2014). In sum, despite the company's narrative of reaffirming "its commitment to promoting human rights and improving working and social conditions of immigrants by supporting social organizations such as CDhIC, CAMI and MISSÃO PAZ" (Inditex 2016: 57), truly the companies have been using these organizations after public pressure and scrutiny.

Another hipocrate narrative is related to gender and women empowerment. As we have seen, the company comprises salaries in an industry that mostly employs young women, mostly immigrants or foreign colored, in the Global South, leading often to disastrous accidents and deaths, as Rana Plaza. It's worth remembering that these women are often moms. Instead of promoting actual better living and working conditions and salaries to these moms, the company promotes the "Every Mother Counts Programme", "to provide medical care during pregnancy to vulnerable women in different parts of the world" (Inditex 2016: 112) that the company helps to increase in number, including southern Bengali. The gender issue, despite the quota of 30% established by IndustriALL, doesn't have a deliberative politics in the Inditex network. Higher female participation would be depended again, according to the network's leader, of local initiatives. Organizations in Muslim countries, for instance, would face more challenges to include women in positions of political leadership.

Table 9 – Inditex GSC (2015)

Geographic area	Suppliers with purchases in 2014	Suppliers not used in 2015	New suppliers in 2015	Suppliers with purchases in 2015
Africa	135	25	20	130
America	80	27	21	74
Asia	759	156	233	836
Europe (non-EU)	160	34	59	185
European Union	491	74	83	500
Total	1,625	316	416	1,725

(*) Suppliers of fashion items, mainly clothing, footwear and accessories, with a production for Inditex of over 20,000 units/year. Suppliers with smaller production account for 0.37% of the total production.

As mentioned, since 2007, the Confederation is aware of slavery-like conditions in supply chains at the textile involving immigrant populations (FS 2007 a/b). As immigrant workers are not formal workers, they are more of a threat to formal employment with which Brazilian labor organizations are concerned with, than the object of true attention and action of these organizations.

Finally, Brazilian union organizations don't seem interested in organizing and representing informal workers in the garment industry nationally, even though about half of workers are informal (CNTV 2015). Since union Brazilian union organizations are legally and institutionally designed for representing formal workers, informal and vulnerable workers are not part of their problem, at least objectively and formally. This lack of representation is not due lack of information (FS 2007 a/b; CNTV 2015). So, unless Brazilian union organizations have *political willingness* to organize and represent informal and vulnerable workers, such representation won't happen through formal and institutionalized mechanism.

The company and IndustriALL recognized the hazardous consequences of a top-down institutional arrangement and are promoting a workers' councils model, although in an embryonic project including in four factories.

In 2015, Inditex and the international trade union federation IndustriALL initiated a pioneering project in Bangladesh that aimed to guarantee the legitimate participation of workers in works councils in factories supplying to Inditex.

Four factories were selected from Inditex's supply chain in Bangladesh to take part in a pilot project with this objective in mind. During the first phase of the project conducted in collaboration with IndustriALL, the processes used for the constitution of "participation committees", which are equivalent in Bengali legislation to works councils, was monitored in these factories.

This process covered aspects including the free selection of candidates by workers and democratic elections.

The Bangladesh experience was especially valuable since it guarantees workers free access to participation committees while also offering guarantees for adequate worker representation in the establishment of occupational health and safety committees. As set out in national legislation, members of these committees must come from a prior selection from the company's participation committee.

This last measure is particularly important given that the Accord, of which Inditex is an original signatory, establishes a pledge for all members of the Accord that establishes democratic occupational health and safety committees in all of the factories that work for them.

The project is a positive outcome of the Accord from Rana Plaza. However, intentionally or not, none of the stakeholders are questioning the garment industry structure.

4.3 Problems with private agreements and possible solutions¹⁶⁵

Private agreements are voluntary commitments between parties with no punishment mechanisms. These agreements are usual practices in private arrangements¹⁶⁶ derived from governance mechanisms exposed earlier in this chapter. Social clauses, International Framework Agreements, Corporate Social Responsibility

¹⁶⁵ Although this text of the dissertation is about private agreements in general, it's worth mentioning that there's a special focus on international agreements in the garment sector.

¹⁶⁶ "The private arrangements consider different public authorities to be relevant and influential for the issue field of fair labour, including: the ILO (e.g. conventions, subdivisions and programmes); the UN (e.g. Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights Council); the EU (e.g. Corporate Social Responsibility Strategy); and negotiations and agreements made on a national or local level (e.g. the Bangladesh Fire and Safety Protocol). Amongst these, the ILO is considered to be the most authoritative standard-setting body. It serves as a reference point for the arrangements as its conventions, recommendations and jurisprudence are generally appreciated. Some of these works are translated into standards, trainings, and other instruments as employed by the arrangements" (Pekdemir, Glasbergen and Corvers 215: 218).

(CSR)¹⁶⁷ and other codes of conduct are some examples. Private agreements are usually non-binding. Types of voluntary regulation are:

- Unilaterally determined, corporate-driven and corporate-controlled, i.e. corporate social responsibility, corporate codes of conduct;
- Bilaterally determined (signed by two parties), as are usually Global Framework Agreements between Global Union Federations and TNCs;
- Multi-stakeholder initiatives¹⁶⁸ (signed by three or more parties): corporations, civil society organizations, and sometimes trade unions.

Private agreements are also instruments for the governance of GSC and are frequently inspired in normative documents, such as:

- UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights;
- OECD Guidelines;
- The afore mentioned Corporate Social Responsibility programs;

Private Initiatives.

There are, still, recent initiatives being evaluated in terms of effectiveness and efficacy, such as the California Transparency in Supply Chains Act¹⁶⁹, the UK

¹⁶⁷ “The ILO defines CSR as the way in which enterprises deal with their impact on society. According to this, CSR is a voluntary, enterprise-driven concept and refers to activities that are considered to exceed compliance with the law”. Definition based on the course “Decent Work in Global Supply Chains” promoted by professor from the Global Labor University program and ILO’s members. See: Iversity (2017). Decent Work in Global Supply Chains. Available at: <https://iversity.org/>. Accessed in February 9th, 2017.

¹⁶⁸ “Multi-stakeholders initiatives: A group of various stakeholders (e.g. companies, trade unions, NGOs, etc.) based on voluntary membership that works towards increasing compliance with selected environmental and social standards, often involving some form of informal and/or external auditing system”. Definition based on the course “Decent Work in Global Supply Chains” promoted by professor from the Global Labor University program and ILO’s members. See: Iversity (2017). Decent Work in Global Supply Chains. Available at: <https://iversity.org/>. Accessed in February 9th, 2017.

¹⁶⁹ “California law requires that certain large companies disclose to the public the extent of their efforts, if any, to ensure that the goods they sell are not produced by workers who are enslaved, coerced, or otherwise forced into service or who have been the victims of human trafficking. Many companies doing business in California already post disclosures about human trafficking. Numerous state and federal laws prohibit coercive labor practices and human trafficking; several are summarized in Appendix B. The

Modern Slavery Act¹⁷⁰, the Bangladesh Fire and Building Safety Accord, and the Indonesia Freedom of Association Protocol.

Key gaps on these instruments are based on the fact that most of them are limited for trade unions, since they are driven by business and hosted by IOs. Critiques are frequent over private agreements. The general conclusion is that these agreements simply don't work out.

The UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights was preceded by some regulatory attempts in the field of business and human rights. In 2003, some attempts to create binding and legal instruments was tried in the UN Norms on the Responsibilities of Transnational Corporations. This normative was never approved. In 2011, the UN Guiding Principles (UNGPs) was endorsed. The UNGPs have a set of 31 principles and three pillars, but as the others, no enforcement mechanism. The 1st pillar is the state's "duty to protect" through prevention, investigation, and punishment in legal figures such as polices, legislation, regulation, and adjudication. The 2nd pillar is the "corporate responsibility" to respect human rights and references are ILO Core Conventions and the International Bill of Human Rights. The 3rd pillar is the "access to remedy" for victims that includes compensation or punitive sanctions, judicial mechanisms, and establishment of effective mechanism (UNHR 2011)¹⁷¹.

The OECD's Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises is probably the most comprehensive and effective program. The Guidelines involve 34 OECD members, and 12 non-member countries that signed the Guidelines, including Brazil (other major as China, India, Russia, and South Africa *have not* signed the Principles). OECD's

Transparency in Supply Chains Act is slightly different. The Act does not regulate a company's labor practices, nor does it require companies to reveal confidential, proprietary and/or trade secret information. Instead, it requires businesses subject to the law to simply disclose their practices in five discrete areas so that interested consumers can make better informed purchasing decisions. The law applies to businesses that Do business in California; Have annual worldwide gross receipts exceeding \$100 million, and; Are identified as manufacturers or retail sellers on their California state tax returns" (Harris; The California Transparency in Supply Chains Act - A Resource Guide 2015: 3).

¹⁷⁰ "An Act to make provision about slavery, servitude and forced or compulsory labour and about human trafficking, including provision for the protection of victims; to make provision for an Independent Anti-slavery Commissioner; and for connected purposes" (England 2015).

¹⁷¹Idem.

Guidelines are extra-territorial, which is, “the Governments of adhering countries (“adhering countries”) jointly recommend to multinational enterprises operating in or from their territories the observance of Guidelines” (OECD Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises 2011: 67).

The OECD’s Guidelines cover the areas of Concepts and Principles; General Policies; Disclosure; Human Rights; Employment and Industrial Relations; Environment; Combating Bribery, Bribe Solicitation and Extortion; Consumer Interests, Science and Technology; Competition; Taxation. The Guidelines are extended to supply chains, for instance: suppliers, sub-contractors, franchises, licensees, and other business partners. The OECD Guidelines on Multinational Enterprises and the UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights are linked. The Guidelines are based on the UNGP’s due diligence. UNGP is also a reference for unionist to formulate a complaint to present on OECD Point of Contact. The complaint may be filled by communities, organizations, and individuals. The steps for filing a complaint are:

1. Providing an effective complaint: including substantial issues over a multinational part of a signatory country;
2. Selecting a National Contact Point;
3. Writing and submitting the complaint: indicating guidelines violated, in which aspects may NCP contribute to solve the case, and what it should do (OECD 2011)¹⁷².

Additionally, the OECD Guidelines depends on National Point’s willingness to follow upon a complaint. A quick review on the guidelines for Brazil demonstrate that they lack efficiency and efficacy: most complaints were not solved, or took too long to be solved, or were solved in other instances, as the Brazilian Labor Court (Brazil 2017).

¹⁷²Idem.

The UN Guiding Principles are new and promising, but lack an enforcement mechanism; lack accountability at the state or enterprise level; are weak in the area of remedy.

ILO Tripartite Declaration on Multinational Enterprises is a low effective alternative, since it presents strict criteria and lack of promotion.

There's also the Corporate Social Responsibility codes example. According to professor Fichter (2015: 1), they would “belong more in the category of ‘ideal types’ than being derived from actual practice”. Still, for professor Crouch, “motivations of multinationals [...] may be awareness with reputational integrity and potential problems in international operations, corporate culture and image, and attempts to control ‘externalities produced by their market behavior’” (Crouch 2006: 1534 qtd. Fichter 2015). CSR are also dependent on stakeholder involvement, setting of minimal standards, providing corporations with legitimacy, reducing the risks of uncertainty, being less likely to emphasize workers’ rights (Anner 2012: 609), and also “Corporations are able to quit CSR programs that are too rigorous and go elsewhere” (611). On the one hand, reputation, enhancing of public images, management of externalities/ risk management, self-referential problem solutions, legitimacy, and blocking introduction of self-governing by TnCs are the issues around CSR programs. On the other hand, legitimate concerns with working and living conditions of workers are not. In fact, as demonstrated by other studies, worker’s rights such as freedom of association and collective bargaining are avoided in CSRs and their validity is always questioned by labor unions.

CSRs proliferated over time, but labor conditions in the industry didn’t improve¹⁷³. Two of the most important codes of conduct in the garment industry – Fair Labor Association (FLA) and Nike’s Code of Conduct – are deeply problematic. The Fair Labor Association is a Multi-Stakeholder Initiative. According to professor Richard

¹⁷³ This text was also based on the course “Decent Work in Global Supply Chains” promoted by professor from the Global Labor University program and ILO’s members. See: Iversity (2017). Decent Work in Global Supply Chains. Available at: <https://iversity.org/>. Accessed in February 9th, 2017.

Locke (2012), they are not effective in stopping forced overtime and effectively guaranteeing rights among members' suppliers. Professor Mark Anner (2012) in evaluating data on all FLA inspections until 2012, concluded that standards were biased and the initiative ignored broadly union's rights, as the right of forming unions, striking, and bargaining collectively. Nike's Code of Conduct's improvements are limited (Locke 2012). Suppliers dependent on Nike are least likely to show improvements at global chains and audits showed no improvements in about 80% of suppliers. The Code also largely ignores violations on the Freedom of Association¹⁷⁴.

Professor Veiga and I (Veiga and Galhera 2014) summarize two orders of critiques regarding the structural and functional aspects of private agreement specifically for the apparel industry in Brazil. Private agreements are especially important at the garment sector and other associational power related industries, since it may be a useful tool for advocating rights and pressuring multinational companies. We categorize these critiques in systemic and functional.

At the systemic side, the mobile nature of apparel industry might be the main characteristic challenging a proper governance in the sector. As argued earlier, the industry is fragmented, intensive in labor, and count on a huge population of people ready to work promptly. Furthermore, it's an industry in which job specialization is not considered "real knowledge", partially due to the fact that is a feminine knowledge, a daughters' learning. This structural design of a sector created the environment for a race to the bottom. At the same time, costs of non-compliance are low (as fines and penalties), indirect (based on consumer perceptions) and based on publicizing from NGOs and activists. In other words, non-compliance is too attractive. This framework makes non-governmental monitoring extremely challenging, since there's a lack of enforcement and binding capabilities from instruments of "soft law". Also, audits and other compliance mechanisms focus on first-tier suppliers and large factories, ignoring the broad outsourced supply chain linked to multinationals in general and specially in GSC on apparel industries, as sweatshops and home-based workers. Operations in

¹⁷⁴Idem.

audits are costly and hard. As consequence, governance mechanisms result in a top-down approach, since the lack of structural power of workers and their empowerment, due to precarious working and living conditions.

At the functional side, governance mechanisms favor some standards over others (and usually do not favor labor unions), encourages competition between systems (of compliance, of auditing and so on), (un)fairness-in-procedures¹⁷⁵, asymmetric distribution of capabilities and lead to the race or stuck at the bottom problem¹⁷⁶, in which relations asymmetric and unequal.

Despite “the single most argument used by corporations when explaining their participation in CSR programs [being that] they are simply filling a gap left by weak government enforcement agencies” (Anner 2012: 613), in Brazil who fills the gap of regulation in the sector are public entities and NGOs. Public entities involve the Public Ministry (Ministério Público) – that, according to the Brazilian Constitution, promotes the defense of social and individual inalienable rights, laws, and democracy¹⁷⁷ – and the Public Ministry of Labor (Ministerio Publico do Trabalho) – enforcing and promoting labor legislation. NGOs include Brazil Reporter (Reporter Brasil) – denouncing modern slavery and promoting information in this field¹⁷⁸ – and Center of Support to Migrant

¹⁷⁵ “Fairness in procedures relates to the perceived advantages of multistakeholder governance: having various interests represented and letting critical watchdogs on board (Utting 2001). This may also apply to the control of implementation and enforcement of labor standards. Second, one may argue that it is fair to have the actors whose interests are pursued (in this case the workers) involved in implementation and enforcement procedures, particularly if those parties who are negatively affecting their circumstances—buying firms—are already involved. According to some, there is an underlying deeper credibility issue, namely, that it is always undesirable to have businesses control the implementation of social matters” (Fransen 2011: 373).

¹⁷⁶ “The ‘race to the bottom’ thesis that unregulated trade competition could lead to suboptimal environmental [and labor] standards has naturally focused on OECD countries with stringent pollution standards, because political concern has emanated from within those countries. But this analysis suggests that the race to the bottom does not apply to those countries where political institutions are responsive to high levels of demand for environmental quality. In low-standard countries, on the other hand, the evidence indicates that competitive pressures do have a substantial impact, creating what might be called the ‘stuck at the bottom’ effect” (Porter 1999).

¹⁷⁷ Ministério Público Federal. **Sobre a Instituição**. Available at: <http://www.mpf.mp.br/conheca-o-mpf/sobre>. Accessed in December 29th, 2016.

¹⁷⁸ One example is the app Free Fashion (Moda Livre) that monitors brands and measures taken to avoid slavery-like conditions in their supply chains. See Reporter Brasil (2014). **Moda Livre**. Available at:

(Centro de Apoio ao Migrante) – providing services for immigrant workers' needs (legal support, professionalizing and Portuguese courses, recreation center and etc.)

One of the main tools advocated by IndustriALL and other Global Union Federations is the International Framework Agreement. Critiques related to IFAs are that they are often limited to ILO's core labor standards, so don't differ much from codes of conduct (Gregoratti and Miller 2011). Additionally, there are differences in the enforceability of IFAs depending on the industry: "provisions regulating buyer conduct may be less crucial in the heavy manufacturing and construction industries in which GFAs were first developed, where global corporations directly employ workers around the world or have strategic partnerships with highly capitalized suppliers" (Anner et al 2013: 26). It remains an open question the potential of IFA's enforceability. They keep being non-binding.

Two major critiques to IFAs are related to compliance and accountability mechanisms. Regarding the compliance mechanism, in the garment industry, at the rank-and-file level, "most factories produce clothes for a number of brands, reducing the influence that any one brand can have on a particular factory [...] its efforts will still be limited by the context in which the factory is operating" (Holdcroft 2016: 2). Some issues regarding the accountability process changed with The Accord. The new model of corporate accountability it represents "sees apparel brands and retailers at the top of the supply chain as jointly responsible, along with contractors" (Anner et al 2013: 2). In other words, brands and retailers at the top of supply chains are jointly responsible. The Accord is also binding. Brands can withdraw any regular CSR, but not this one.

The Accord is innovative, but an exception. There's a general gap between regulatory marks and the garment industry's structure. IndustriALL is aware of this issue. As the director of Policy at IndustriALL argues, "there are clear reasons why efforts based solely on CSR and auditing will continue to fail. They do not make any fundamental change to the way that production is organized" (Holdcroft 2016: 2). For

this reason and since the Accord's experience, IndustriALL has been advocating for an industry-level agreement, the ACT (Action, Collaboration, Transformation):

elements that must be present in order for strategies to improve supply chain labour standards to be effective. Efforts must be collaborative, and involve buyers, factories, workers and their unions. They must address root causes, including purchasing practices. They must include longer-term commitments from buyers to suppliers in order to provide an incentive for them to comply, as well as sanctions if they do. These experiences have made it possible for garment companies and IndustriALL Global Union to join forces to apply such an approach to living wages in the garment industry. This process is known as ACT (Holdcroft 2016: 4).

The project points out some potential benefits of industry collective bargaining agreements, for instance:

- Labour costs are taken out of competition
- All workers are included
- Factories adhere to the same labour standards
- A level playing field for manufacturers
- Increased compliance among employers
- Reduced conflict at the workplace (Hiil Innovating Justice 2017)

According to the United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner (2016) the “[ACT] is an initiative between international brands & retailers and trade unions to address the issue of living wages in the textile and garment sector”. As in jobbers’ agreements, ACT is an “**industry collective bargaining** in key garment and textile sourcing countries, supported by world class **manufacturing standards** and linked responsible **purchasing practices**” (United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner 2016). So, similarly to the jobbers’, these agreements aim a whole industry sector through industry-level negotiations, involving all stakeholders, avoiding supplier by supplier competition/ race to the bottom. Setting of minimum wages is proposed to governments, possibly after consultation with manufacturers and unions. Purchasing practices are proposed to buyers, dialoguing at the same time with suppliers regarding human resources and wages (United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner 2016)

Industry-level collective contracts, as the ACT, are not new. Industrial Relations' designs, such as the German, are historically used to effective tripartite negotiation at the industry and national level (Kirsch and Keller 2011; Rogers and Streeck 1994)¹⁷⁹. Additionally, past experiences through “jobbers agreements” between workers, contractors, and led firms

First, [...] prevented contractors from competing on labor costs by negotiating wages directly with the jobber. Second, they stabilized subcontracting relationships by requiring jobbers to register their designated contractors with the union. Third, they made jobbers directly liable for certain labor costs beyond wages (Anner et al 2013: 21).

In other words, agreements were not signed with individual employers – stimulating a race to the bottom as it is nowadays –, but with employers' associations. Registering contracts with unions turn it harder to pressure wages down and binded them to other labor costs. A positive outcome of this level of agreement is the regulation of common wages through the supply chains. Other provisions were included in contracting shops, as:

- Minimum wages by occupational category (sewer, cutter, presser etc.), both for “week workers” (cutters, sample, makers, etc.) and “piece rate workers” (primarily, sewing machine operators);
- A process for setting piece rates sufficient to yield the minimum wage for a sewer of average efficiency, as well as a process for resolving any disputes that might arise in the negotiation of these rates;
- Provisions triggering wage increases in the case of inflation or increases to the statutory minimum wage;
- Hours of work, including provisions regarding maximum permissible overtime and the compensation rules for overtime work (Anner et al 2013: 21).

At the jobbers' agreement, a regime with contractors were established to regulate long-term and stable relationships¹⁸⁰. Jobbers agreements paved way for

¹⁷⁹ As IndustriALL just launched the program, it's not possible to know its outcomes.

¹⁸⁰ Included: “Requiring jobbers to designate, at the outset of an agreement, all contractors that it intended to use during the course of the (typically three year) agreement, and to register designated contractors with an Administrative Board comprised of representatives from the union and the jobbers’

preventing constant change of suppliers, stabilizing prices, diminishing of work fluctuations, incentivizing unionized jobs, promoting higher labor standards, accessing steady orders, enabling economic security for contractors and job security for workers (Anner et al 2013: 24)

IFAs in the garment industry usually differ from jobbers' agreements in the fact that "they do not address issues of pricing and contract stability", or "involve contractors in the negotiating process", and "lack robust dispute resolution and enforcement mechanisms" (Anner et al 2013: 27)¹⁸¹. Some scholars argue that they are "an effective strategy for fighting sweatshops must grapple with the structural dynamics of apparel supply chains" (Anner et al. 2013: 3).

IndustriALL incorporated the ACT project, also known as triangular collective bargaining. According to the elected Assistant General Secretary, IndustriALL realized that conditions at textile's global supply chains is a structural issue, sectoral bargaining can differ from country to country, wage is a central component, and there are driving facts behind living wages. The proposal is leading major brands to signing a memory with IndustriALL, a industry level sectoral collective bargaining linking purchasing practices of brands with a mechanism to isolate the wage component, and direct involvement of unions deciding what comes through their members¹⁸².

employers' association; Restricting the supply of contractors that could be so designated to unionized shops; Permitting a jobber to register only the number of contractors actually required to manufacture its garments; Requiring jobbers to distribute work evenly across all designated contractors and prohibiting the use of new contractors except when additional capacity was needed; Prohibiting the discharge of a designated contractor for any reasons other than poor quality and/or late delivery" (Anner et al 2013: 21).

¹⁸¹ The Accord is an exception, since "There are at least four key ways in which the Bangladesh Accord reflects core principles of the historical jobbers agreements. First, the Accord regulates the buying practices of apparel brands and retailers these obligations may result in greater contract stability and, thus, enhanced job security for workers [...]. Second, the Accord calls for workers' representatives to be fully equal and empowered participants [...]. Third, as in jobbers agreements and collective bargaining agreements generally, these commitments are not merely general statements of intent, but binding, contractually enforceable obligations [...]. Fourth, like the jobbers agreements and most other successful collective bargaining efforts, the agreement covers a broad portion of the industry" (Anner et al 2013: 26-28).

¹⁸² This text was based the elected Assistant General Secretary' interview on the course "Decent Work in Global Supply Chains" promoted by professors from the Global Labor University program and ILO's members. See: Iversity (2017). Decent Work in Global Supply Chains. Available at: <https://iversity.org/>. Accessed in February 9th, 2017.

... programs [lead by multinational corporations to address sweatshop scandals] are particularly weak regarding the right to the freedom of association, as the corporations that control or influence these programs are not enthusiastic about having strong unions in their supply chains (Anner 2012)...

Private initiatives, particularly those that involve the active participation of trade union organizations alongside employers can complement state initiatives. Global framework agreements illustrate the importance of agreements between multinational companies and global union federations. The Bangladesh Accord shows the need for agreements to be legally binding and for multinationals to take on the costs of decent work in their supply chains. The Accord model of binding, negotiated agreements should be complemented by a strong ILO declaration on decent work in global supply chains... Lead firms need to be held accountable for their practices (Anner 2015: 6-7).

Possible alternatives to actual private agreements could be based on successful past experiences in the garment sector, such as jobbers agreements. These used to be broad contracts between employers' and employees' associations, regarding not only wages, but also labor costs. These agreements used to prevent the practice of actual models of negotiations in apparel supply chains: individual, pushing down wages, as well as working and living conditions, and promoting competition among suppliers, leading to a race to the bottom. Moreover, since these negotiations with employers' associations used to make jobbers liable for labor costs, beyond wages they used to prevent contracts from competing on labor costs by negotiating wages directly with the jobber. In the actual model, outsourcing costs and risks is the recurrent practice. Subcontracting relationships were also stabilized, since jobbers were required to register contractors with *the* union, not with a range of *sweatshops* (Anner, Bair and Blasi 2013).

CHAPTER 5 - POSSIBLE AGENCIES BASED ON INTERSECTIONALITY

Relevant pamphlets have been in the front line of social movements. As a matter of fact, fanzines are recurrent tools for grassroots movements, and newspapers are relevant media for labor unions. Therefore, it's worth analyzing these sources to understand communication in union organizations.

This chapter is based on the second argument of this research: variables or social marks of difference in the working class (through gendered, racialized, aged, and nationalized labor markets) are potential for successful international labor agency (considering the structural limits pointed out) if union organizations consider identity politics. The hypothesis that is going to be tested is that union organizations that employ identity politics are likely to succeed in international unionism. The logic is simple: once union organizations are open to all sorts of working classes, privileged workers are likely to have open minds both for colored, young, women, immigrant, and foreign workers. Thus, solidarity is a given. It's worthier to solidarize with all workers, than trying to "protect" national jobs (as Trump voters, a representative part of them Rust Belt white unionized workers). If solidarity with all workers is not blocked, then international solidarity is not an issue either. Plus, it's assumed that the inclusion of diverse types of workers in labor organizations are partially due to politicized union agendas that go beyond bread and butter unionism¹⁸³.

Following this premise, two central unions – and their related ideologies - are analyzed: Union Force (*Força Sindical*, or FS) and Sole Union of Workers (*Central Única dos Trabalhadores*, or CUT). Union Force is more of business unionism and the Sole Union of Workers is closer to the social movement unionism, so the first one is more likely to be a bread-and-butter unionism and the second one, to have a broader political agenda. The hypothesis tested is that Union Force is less likely to engage in international unionism than the Sole Union of Workers.

¹⁸³ This is a definition for very basic unionism.

As mentioned, class, gender, race, age, and immigration are the independent variables. Success is the outcome or dependent variable and the interrelation of independent and dependent variables is the causal relation. Controlling variables are: international union networks (they exist independently of levels of engagement for participants) and formal legal-bureaucratic Brazilian national corporatist institutions (as labor laws and the Ministry of Labor). It's worth bearing in mind, still, that political orientation of central unions (the Sole Union of Workers as social unionism and a more internationalized organization and the Union Force as business unionism and a national-oriented organization¹⁸⁴) influence national Confederations: both case studies were chosen solely due to methodological purposes. As variables must vary, Union Force is the negative pole and Sole Union of Workers is the positive pole in two industries: garment and steel (in other words, this is a model that allows falsifiability¹⁸⁵).

The subject is analyzed at the level of Brazilian Confederations, since over Confederations it is possible to explain either the level of identity politics (ideology linked to the Sole Union of Workers and Union Force that are reproduced in Confederations and labor unions) and actions taken in terms of identity politics considering particularities for each specific industry¹⁸⁶. The option “to choose the most appropriate cases for a given research strategy” (Seawright and Gerring 2008: 295) is justified because of: opposite ideologies (business and social movement unionism), two industries that represent the profiles with very specific social marks I aim to demonstrate (mostly masculinized *versus* mostly feminized, comparatively national and stable *versus* highly outsourced/occupied by immigrants, and etc.), and relevance of industries and companies.

¹⁸⁴ Evidences that the Sole Union of Workers is more internationalized than the Union Force are: CUTMulti project (the first proposing international unionism in the country); unionists from labor organizations linked to the Sole Union of Workers as Fernando Lopes and Valter Sanches - formely from the metallurgical's union and currently at IndustriALL - and João Felício - formely from the Sole Union and currently at ITUC; and the abundance of researches about international efforts at the Sole Union of Workers (for instance, Evans 2014; 2015; 2016; da Costa 2016; Gray 2015; 2009) in comparison with the little production from Union Force (Framil Filho 2016; Rombaldi 2016).

¹⁸⁵ See model on schema 1.

¹⁸⁶ According to the Consolidation of Labor Laws, the Brazilian Constitution, and the Law 11.648/2008.

The hypothesis is tested through two moments of qualitative methods. The first qualitative method lays upon the analysis of Confederations' official documents, aiming to evaluate whether or not key-words related to identity politics are recurrent. At a second moment, the "atlas.ti" software comes to the scene to analysing the frequency of keywords related to identity politics. Having as a demonstrated presumption¹⁸⁷ that those Confederations linked to CUT due to the formal structure of labor unionism (see organogram 1) are more internationalized than those linked to Union Force, I aim to demonstrate the correlation between identity politics and internationalization. A clear limitation of such methodology is the possible gap between narrative and practice.

Before approaching central unions and confederations, it's important to punctuate some issues. As we shall see, CUT is a pioneer in building union networks. It's worth mentioning, however, that:

Although during the introduction of networks in the country (Brazil), the Sole Union of Workers was a latent protagonist, nowadays lots central unions are engaged in networks. Recently, the Union Force, main rival of the Sole Union of Workers, have invested more directly in politics and inaugurated some networks by own initiative. Thus, an effort is needed for all networks be "politically neutrals", otherwise their potential field of action would be hampered" (Framil 2015: 17, my translation¹⁸⁸).

¹⁸⁷ See chapter 1 for an explanation of the Brazilian labor structure.

¹⁸⁸ Original text: "Embora durante o período de introdução das redes no país a Central Única dos Trabalhadores tenha exercido evidente protagonismo, hoje diversas centrais sindicais estão engajadas nas redes. Recentemente, a Força Sindical, principal rival da CUT, tem investido de forma mais direta na política e chegou a fundar algumas redes por iniciativa própria. É necessário um esforço, assim, para que as redes sejam "politicamente neutras", caso contrário a sua área potencial de atuação ficaria muito prejudicada"

5.1 The Sole Union of Workers (Central Única dos Trabalhadores)

5.1.1 History

The Sole Union of Workers/ Central Única dos Trabalhadores' history is parallel to the history of democratization in Brazil. During the dictatorship strikes were basically illegal¹⁸⁹. CUT promoted wildcat strikes in the end of the 70's and the Workers' Party was constituted with members of the labor movement, including workers from rural areas - the Workers' Party was founded in 1980 and the Central Union, in 1982. Later on, the party was partially responsible for advancements in the progressive 1988's Brazilian Constitution, considered a citizen's constitution. Finally, the Workers' Party was the one through which Lula got elected, the Brazilian president responsible for "state maintenance and its distributive action" (Singer 2009) from 2003 until 2011. CUT is linked organically to the Worker' Party and was active in promoting Lula's candidacy.

CUT was founded in August 28th, 1983, in São Bernardo do Campo (São Paulo), during the 1st Congress of the Working Class (*1º Congresso Nacional da Classe Trabalhadora*, or CONCLAT). According to CUT's own definition, it is an "union organization of the masses, at maximum level, in a classist character, autonomous and democratic, with the compromise of advocating for immediate and historic interests of the working class" (CUT 2017a, my translation)¹⁹⁰. According to its own definition, CUT is the biggest central union institution in Brazil and Latin America and the 5th biggest of the world, counting on around 3,806 affiliated organizations and 7,847,077 affiliated workers in 2017 (CUT 2017a).

¹⁸⁹ Due to the 1964's "strike law". Exigences included signaling strikes in one month advance. See: Brazil (1964). *LEI No 4.330, DE 1º DE JUNHO DE 1964*. Available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/leis/1950-1969/L4330.htm. Accessed in 19th, July, 2017.

¹⁹⁰ Original text: "organização sindical brasileira de massas, em nível máximo, de caráter classista, autônomo e democrático, cujo compromisso é a defesa dos interesses imediatos e históricos da classe trabalhadora".

According to CUT's website, this labor organization is framed both horizontally and vertically. Horizontally through all the states of the Brazilian federation, in the Federal District, and through CUT's branches in national states. Vertically through union organization based on the rank-and-file and union entities of sectors: labor unions, federations, and confederations. There are also some specific institutions, as the Social Observatory Institute¹⁹¹, that researches the behavior of multinational companies in the country (CUT 2017a).

At CUT the Commission for the Working Woman (Comissão da Mulher Trabalhadora) was founded in 1986 and turned on a Secretary in 1997. The Central count on three main secretaries of minorities: Working Woman (CUT 2017b), Youth (2017c) and Fight against Racism (2017d). CUT's guidelines state partnership with social movements, *specially women's, youth's, disabled's, health's, elderly's, and against racial discrimination*, among others (CUTMulti 2009: 36, my translation and emphasis).

5.1.1.1 CUT's project on international union networks: "CUT Multi"

Union networks worldwide were born in the 90's. CUT's project on international union networks was stated in 2011, named as Action on Multinationals (*Ação Frente às Multinacionais*) or CUTMulti in a partnership between CUT and the Dutch central union FNV. Organizations involved in the CUTMulti project were: Secretary of International Relations from CUT, Social Observatory Institute, DIEESE,

¹⁹¹ "The Social Observatory Institute is an organization that analyses and researches the conduct of multinational, national, and state's corporations regarding fundamental workers' rights. These rights are granted mainly at ILO's Conventions regarding freedom of association, collective bargaining, forced labor, discrimination of race and gender, environment, health and safety. Its methodology starts with public informations in websites, newspapers, and etc., for instance, corporate control, history, denounces regarding the environment and workers' rights. Complementing the research, the institute interviews workers, union leaders, and the management. Are also considered in the research ILO's Conventions, Social Charters, [Mercosul's] Socio-Workers' Declaration, volunteer Codes of Conduct in Companies, OCDE's Guidelines for Multinational Corporations, UN's Global Compact, and other normatives advocated by GUFs and ITUC" (CUTMulti 2009: 30).

confederations by industry, and networks. Ten union committees were stated in global corporations. According to the CUTMulti booklet, the project was released due to the “urgency of confronting impacts of globalization in actual labor relations. Excess of power from transnational and the way these organizations treat employees created a demand for new strategies of rights and interests for the working class [in which] the role of central unions turned central” (CUTMulti 2009: 5, my translation)¹⁹². One of the central arguments was that since TNCs are organized in networks unions were supposed to have the “same strategy as union answer” (CUTMulti 2009: 5, my translation)¹⁹³.

CUTMulti was reinforced as important in CUT’s 9th Congress, on April 2015, and at that time one major concern was union fragmentation. The project acquired know-how and methodologies from FNV and included three steps: (1) promotion and sensibilization; (2) process consultation, convincing and legitimation; (3) knowing the situation of labor unions in the network¹⁹⁴. Regarding the network development and management, issues as research and mapping, planning, communication, statute, CUT’s directions, and education were included. Regarding consolidation of networks, workers’ representatives were supposed to apply the Plan of Action and promote ongoing evaluation, permanent communication, network recognition, consolidation of social dialogue, financial sustainability, and a chapter for “challenges”. Regarding the statement of international articulations, international network of contacts with internacional federations and confederations, country of origin, influence and regional contacts were included. Tools indicated to unions were OCDE’s directions for

¹⁹² Original text: “necessidade de enfrentar os impactos da globalização nas relações de trabalho atuais. O excesso de poder das corporações transnacionais e a forma com que essas organizações tratam seus empregados criaram uma demanda por novas estratégias de defesa de direitos e interesses da classe trabalhadora. O papel das centrais e dos sindicatos tornou-se, então, essencial nesse confronto”.

¹⁹³ Original text: “mesma estratégia como resposta sindical”.

¹⁹⁴ A specific methodology was taken from FNV to CUT: the auto-diagnosis (ADO). It included characteristics as democracy, economic strengthening, access to information, adequate positions, systems of planning and monitoring, equity, union initiative, economic and administration, institutional proposal, organizational competencies, social recognition, conceptual and political autonomy, transparency and confiability, representativeness, incidence, and innovation (idem: 25-26).

multinational companies, International Framework Agreements, and “others” (Global Compact and ISO 26000) (idem: 25-60).

5.1.2 The National Confederation of Workers in the Apparel Industry

The National Confederation of Workers in the Apparel Industry (*Confederação Nacional dos Trabalhadores do Ramo Vestuário*, or CNTRV)¹⁹⁵ changed its name and scope to support all workers of the production chain in this industry. The argument was that “The greater the representativeness, the more conditions to negotiate collective agreements favorable to garment workers we’ll have” (CUT 2015, my translation)¹⁹⁶.

CNTRV represents around 300 thousand workers in the whole country, most of them young women: 79% of workers are women and 49% are young workers. One of the challenges is competition with external suppliers. In this regards, one of the main challenges for unions were to build “union networks with a global politics” (CUT 2015, my translation)¹⁹⁷. As Brazilian labor organizations in general, this has a bureaucratic and hierarchical structure¹⁹⁸.

¹⁹⁵ CNTRV was preceded by the National Confederation of Workers in Apparel (*Confederação Nacional dos Trabalhadores no Vestuário*, or CNTV) until August, 2015.

¹⁹⁶ Original text: “Quanto maior for a representatividade, mais condições de negociar acordos coletivos favoráveis aos trabalhadores do ramo vestuário”.

¹⁹⁷ Original text: “redes sindicais e de política global”.

¹⁹⁸ President (Francisca Trajano dos Santos – Sind. Dos Profissionais em Confecção do ABC – SP), Vice-President (João Batista Xavier da Silva – Sind. Sapateiros de Sapiranga – RS), General Secretary (Renato Luis Hasen da Rosa – Sind. Sapateiros de Rolante – RS), Secretary of Finances (Jose Carlos Guedes – Sind. Calçados de São Paulo – SP), Secretary of Union Organization (Edmilson Antonio Viturino - Sind. Têxtil de João Pessoa – PB), Secretary of Racial Equity (Arlete Silva Santos - Sind. Couro e Artefatos de Ipira – BA), Youth’s Secretary (Rogerio Tolentino da Silva - Sind. Vestuário de Colatina – ES), Woman’s Secretary (Maria Regina Lessa - Sind. Calçados de Fortaleza – CE), Secretary of Education (Jair Xavier dos Santos - Sind. Sapateiros de Novo Hamburgo – RS), Secretary of Labor Relations (Reno Roberto Andrade de Paiva - Sind. Têxtil de Natal – RN), Secretary of Public Policies (Arlei Regalau - Sind. Vestuário de Cotia – SP), Secretary of Press and Communication (Márcia Regina Gon. Viana - Sind Vestuário de Sorocaba-SP), Secretary of International Relations (James dos Santos Alves - Sind. Calçados de Itapetinga- BA), Secretary of Worker’s Health (Herman Francisco da Penha- Sind Fiação e Tecelagem de Paulista- PE). Substitutes of Direction: Rosimeire Pereira de Macedo –

5.1.3 The National Confederation of Metallurgical Workers

The National Confederation of Metallurgical Workers from CUT (*Confederação Nacional dos/as Metalúrgicos/as da CUT*, or CNM) was founded in 1989, after the 3rd CUT's National Congress, first as a department. As expected, this is one of the most organized sectors at CUT: "metal workers were the first sector to organize as such in CUT, following directions of the 3rd National Congress from CUT, in 1988" (CNM 2017a, my translation)¹⁹⁹. CNM's history is partially related to the birth of the Metallurgical Workers from ABC Union (*Sindicato dos Metalúrgicos do ABC*, or SMABC), in 1933, during one of the Brazilian dictatorships. At that time, Getulio Vargas created the "Unionization Law" (*Lei de Sindicalização*), in 1931. The law submitted unions to the control of the state and associated them to specific rights, repressing free union that didn't accept to be submitted to this law (Angela 1994; Collier e Collier 2002). CNM was first a department, then a Confederation, in 2002.

Honor president from CNM, then, was Luis Inácio "Lula" da Silva, since the CNM existence is pretty much due to the Brazilian ex-president. CNM has also a history of support to party elections, especially Lula's for presidency, through coalitions as the Popular Front²⁰⁰. In fact, CNM's political history goes beyond the rank-and-file in

Sind. Têxtil de Paulista - PE, Jeane Silva Souza – Sind Textil de João Pessoa – PB, Marcio Mario Farias – Sind. Calçados e Vestuários de Pouso Alegre – MG, Maria da Conceição Lima da Silva – Sind. Têxtil de Natal – RN, Valdielio de Lima Silva – Sind. Têxtil de Fortaleza- CE, Maria de Sousa de Oliveira – Sind. Unificado de São Paulo – SP, Jose do Carmo da Silva - Sind. Coureiros de Goiás – GO, Luis Carlos Vieira Cardoso – Sind. Calçados de Igrejinha-RS, Romilda Guntzel – Sind. Calçados de Sapiranga – RS, Berto Café – Sind. Têxtil de Petrolina-PE, João Emerson Dutra de Campos – Sind. Calçados e Vestuário de Venâncio Aires – RS, Aparecida Leite Ferreira – Sind. Profissionais em Confecção do ABC-SP, Jurandir Souza Brito – Sind. Calçados de Jequié-BA, Gilberto Marcio lungton – Sind Calçados de Riosinho- RS. Fiscal Council: Carlos Alberto Pereira - Sind. Coureiros de Belo Horizonte – MG, Josilaine Giovana Crippa da Rosa – Sind. Calçados de Igrejinha – RS, Leandro Rodrigues dos Santos – Sind. Calçados de Sapiranga – RS. Fiscal Council (substitutes): Raimundo Nonato Jeronimo de Oliveira - Sind. Têxtil de Fortaleza – CE, Zaida Rocha da Silva – Sind. Calçados e Vestuário de Venâncio Aires-RS, Jose Mandu de Amorim– Sind Textil de Paulista-PE.

¹⁹⁹ Original text: "Os (as) metalúrgicos (as) foram a primeira categoria a organizar-se enquanto ramo no interior da CUT, cumprindo deliberação do 3º Congresso Nacional da Central, realizado em 1988".

²⁰⁰ It's interesting to note that the Brazil Popular Front (Frente Brasil Popular) was also a coalition against the 2016's coup. As a concept, until the 1930's, the Communist Parties had a sectarian policy of "unique

factories to promote, for instance, in 2001, at CNM's 5th Congress, an hegemonic strategy that included three main programs: "General Struggles in Society, Public Policies and actions in the Rank-and-File, and Control of the Productive Process" (CNM 2017a, my translation)²⁰¹. In 2002 Lula was elected Brazil's president with CNM's formal support, defined in its Congress. Other international partnerships were established in 2005, at the "German-Ibero-American" Union Network by eight union representatives. Objectives included:

Intensification and deepening of reciprocal knowledge about cultural, economic, and social characteristics of each country involved;
Intensification of information exchange about the progress and evolution in each country, amongst other things, with the building of an Informational Network through the internet;
Promoting and transferring knowledge among labor unions through common educational measures;
Annual meetings, alternately, in each country, as well as Conferences among unions involved, aiming information exchange and a common agenda (CNTM 2013: 16, my translation²⁰²).

It's quite interesting to note also CNM's internationalization of agendas and struggles. CNM affiliated to International Metalworkers' Federation (currently IndustriALL) in 1992²⁰³. Around 2001, a process of South-South relations among

front". They denied any alliance with the social democrats and accused them of being fascists. When Hitler became a chancellor in Germany, Communist Parties changed the tactic and started the Popular Fronts, that are broader alliances with parties, not necessarily Leftist ones, but also Liberal Republicans.

²⁰¹ Original text: "Lutas Gerais na Sociedade, Políticas Públicas e ações no Chão da Fábrica, visando também o controle do Processo Produtivo".

²⁰² Original text: "A intensificação e o aprofundamento dos conhecimentos recíprocos sobre as características culturais, econômicas e sociais de cada um dos países envolvidos;

A intensificação da troca de informações sobre o andamento e evolução em cada um dos países, entre outras coisas, com a construção de uma Rede de Informações através da Internet;

A promoção da transferência de conhecimentos e do saber entre os Sindicatos, se possível através de medidas de formação em comum;

A realização de encontros anuais, alternadamente em cada um dos países, bem como de Conferências entre os Sindicatos envolvidos, para assim se trocarem experiências e se desenvolverem em comum os objetivos sindicais".

²⁰³ It's worth mentioning some early international efforts among metallurgical workers since 1982. The Intersoli Working Group, at this time among workers from Volkswagen (VW), began in Wolfsburg, Germany, with IG Metall. In 1990, European Works Council was set up at VW. In 1998, the World Council of Workers at VW was set up (CNTM 2013). It's worth mentioning also VW's management involvement with dictatorship in Brazil (CNV 2015).

“progressive unions”²⁰⁴ from South Africa, Korea and Brazil started. In 2007 the Woman’s Secretary was formally established. In 2011, the Youth’s and Racial Equality department was established (CNM 2017a)²⁰⁵. These became permanent policies at CNM through time:

Regarding the general and permanent policies at CNM/CUT, different actions were defined that guarantee the continuity and expansion of actions in the fields of training, workers’ health, racial equality, woman, youth, and union policies, besides strategies of union policies to strength entities of this industry and amplify the CUT basis in the country (CNM 2017a, my translation)²⁰⁶.

Strategies to fight whipsawing were also promoted by CNM through the National Collective Contract (*Contrato Coletivo Nacional de Trabalho*) since 2007. It proposed reduction of the work shift, a national common wage and the Organization at the Workplace (*Organização no Local de Trabalho*, or OLT). The Confederation also invests in political formation of its militants.

In 2015, at the 9th Congress, it was approved the strengthening at the workplace through Union Committees at Companies and Internal Commissions for Preventing Accidents (*Comissões Internas de Prevenção de Acidentes*, or CIPAs), union networks, National Collective Agreements, and other measures (CNM 2017a).

²⁰⁴ Original text “sindicatos progressistas”

²⁰⁵ Currently, departments at CNM are: Presidency, Vice-Presidency, General Secretary, Secretary of International Relations, Secretary of Organization, Secretary of Administration and Finances, Secretary of Union Policy, Secretary of Union Policy, Secretary of Social Policy, Secretary of Education, Woman’s Secretary, Youth’s Secretary, Racial Equality’s Secretary, Secretary of Worker’s Health, Social Security, and Environment, Executive Board, Fiscal Council and Substitution.

²⁰⁶ Original text: “No que se refere às políticas gerais e permanentes da CNM/CUT, foram definidas diversas ações que garantem a continuidade e a ampliação de ações nas áreas de formação, saúde do trabalhador, igualdade racial, mulher, juventude e políticas sindicais, além de estratégias de política sindical que fortaleçam as entidades da categoria e ampliem a base cutista no país”.

5.2 The Union Force (Força Sindical)

5.2.1 History

The Union Force – or in the original Brazilian Portuguese, Força Sindical (FS) –, was founded between March 8th and 10th, 1991. It is, as CUT, a union central, similar (in structure) to the AFL-CIO in the United States. The Sao Paulo branch was created two years later, in 1993 (Força Sindical SP 2017). Differently from the Sole Union of Workers, the Union Force is usually framed as business unionism. According to “The Principles of Força” (*Os Princípios da Força*, its foundational letter), FS’ promotion is for “a modern society, based on competition, prosperity, productivity, democracy and participation” (Força Sindical 1991: 37). Força proposes to fight for a specific capitalism, in opposition to the “wild capitalism” (Rodrigues and Cardoso 2009: 1). According to FS’ website, the organization seem a third via, in opposition to “sterile radicalism or, in the other hand, paralyzing conformism” (Força Sindical 2017).

Although some authors argue that FS has some touches of social democracy (Rodrigues and Cardoso 2009), the central have been advocating against the maintenance of some elements of the Brazilian welfare state, especially since FS’ ex-president, Paulinho (known popularly as *Paulinho da Força*), founded the political party Solidarity (*Solidariedade*), despite this organization’s narrative of apartidarism (Força Sindical 1991). The Solidarity party supported a Proposal for Constitutional Amendment 241/55 (*Proposta de Emenda Constitucional*) that freezed investments in public health and education for 20 years since 2017. At the same time, FS is highly adherent of the unicidade sindical, the representation system by municipality and professional category with compulsory fundraising²⁰⁷ for unions, stated by Getulio Vargas’ administration and partially terminated during the actual Michel Temer’s coup presidency. Currently, Força

²⁰⁷ By law, specific union taxes were discounted from workers periodically to finance labor unions.

count on three secretaries of minorities: Women (Força Sindical 2017b), Racial Issues (Força Sindical 2017c), and Disabled (Força Sindical 2017d).

The metallurgical sector is the hegemonic one at Força and the strongest union is the São Paulo's Metallurgical Union (*Sindicato dos Metalúrgicos de São Paulo*). The second biggest class association is the Federation of Workers in the Food Industry (Federação dos Trabalhadores na Alimentação). Other industries are less important in the economy, as well as at Força Sindical, as the São Paulo e Osasco's Union of Sewing Workers (Sindicato das Costureiras de São Paulo e Osasco).

Differently from CUT, FS borned after the 1988's Constitution. This Brazilian Constitution is considered highly progressive, although there's a general understanding that there's a gap between the Constitution and the social reality. In a context of high inflation and unemployment post the 80's, FS was born. Força raises the "modernity" flag, juxtaposed with CUT's "socialist" flag (Rodrigues and Cardoso 2009).

Força Sindical's proposal is more visible if compared to CUT's. If Força Sindical aims to be "modern, democratic, independent, non-partisan, pluralist and Latin American", CUT aims to be "classist, democratic, autonomist, unitary, of masses and [constructed from] the basis". In opposition to the "neoliberal" project, CUT offers an alternative one: the construction of a socialist society, as a result of the conquest of political power by the proletarian class. CUT's role would be "to advance the class struggle" and the general strike would be "the main instrument of the working class". While FS aims to be within the marks of a modernized and democratic capitalism, CUT understands that, to reach a more democratic society, it would be needed to surpass capitalism and reach socialism. In the end, compared to Força Sindical's "social liberal" project, CUT's proposal could be classified as socialist-democratic, which doesn't mean it is a social democracy, a trend denied by all the other inside CUT (Rodrigues and Cardoso 2009: 4, my translation)²⁰⁸.

²⁰⁸ Original text: "A proposta da Força Sindical ganha maior nitidez quando a comparamos com a da CUT. Se a Força Sindical pretende-se "moderna, democrática, independente, apartidária, pluralista e latino-americana", a CUT pretende-se "classista, democrática, autônoma, unitária, de massas e pela base". Em oposição ao projeto "neoliberal", a CUT oferece um projeto alternativo: a construção de uma sociedade socialista, resultado da conquista do poder político pela classe operária. O papel da CUT seria "fazer avançar a luta de classes", sendo a greve geral "o principal instrumento da classe trabalhadora". Enquanto a Força Sindical quer ficar nos marcos de um capitalismo modernizado e democrático, a CUT entende que, para se conseguir uma sociedade democrática, seria preciso superar o capitalismo e chegar ao socialismo. No final, diante do projeto "social liberal" da Força Sindical, a proposta da CUT poderia ser classificada como socialista-democrática, o que não significa dizer socialdemocrática, corrente negada oficialmente por todas as facções existentes no interior da CUT."

5.2.2 The National Confederation of Workers in the Industries of Textile, Clothing, Leather and Shoes

The National Confederation of Workers in the Industries of Textile, Clothing, Leather and Shoes (*Confederação Nacional dos Trabalhadores nas Indústrias do Setor Têxtil, Vestuário, Couro e Calçados*, or CONACCOVEST) was formally founded in October 8th, 2008, and early efforts happened to be in January 21th, 2006, although the legal figure of Confederations is provided in 1939 Brazil's Decree-Law. In January 21th, 2009, a new election chose the new direction (CONACCOVEST 2017a).

The Confederation is highly hierarchical, bureaucratic, and disorganized. For instance, although there's a bunch of positions and hierarchies maintained by the *unicidade sindical*²⁰⁹(CONACCOVEST 2017b), there's no information, on the website, about which federations and labor unions are affiliated to them. CONACCOVEST's website show only one minority secretary, Youth (CONACCOVEST 2017c), even though there's a formal Woman's Secretary (CONACCOVEST 2017b).

In this regard, it's worth mentioning that women's policies at CONNACOVEST are shallow somehow. In a fieldwork in 2012 at the Union of Sewing Workers, affiliated to FS (Sindicato das Costureiras de Sao Paulo), a hair salon seemed to be the only women's policy in the place.

²⁰⁹ Effective members of the Executtive Board: president (Eunice Cabral), vice-president (Sérgio Marques), General Secretary (Rogério Jorge De Aquino E Silva), 1st General Secretary (Elias Ferreira), General Treasurer (José Ricardo Leite), 1st Treasurer (Jorge Ferreira), Secretary of Union Education (Francisco Antonio Ferreira Da Silva), Secretary of Union Issues (Reginaldo De Souza Arantes), Secretary of Public Relations (Antonio Carlos Francisco Dos Santos), Secretary for Parliamentary Issues (Raul Erlon Candido), Secretary of International Relations (Carlos Roberto De Carvalho Malaquias), Secretary of Employment and Development (Ruth Coelho Monteiro), Woman's Secretary (Eleuza De Cassia Bufelli Macari), Secretary of Social Policy (Isaildo Lopes Damaceno), National Secretary of Health, Security and Environment (Milene Rodrigues), Youth Secretary (Jessica Leite). Substitutes of the Executive Board are: Walter Fabro, Claudio Peressim, Elvira Graebin, Agnaldo Madaleno da Cunha, João Manuel da Silva, Rodrigo Vieira Barbosa, Romerio Moreira da Silva, Francisdei Farias Teixeira Dos Santos, Marcos Antonio de Almeida, Jose Antonio Simão Rodrigues, Ricardo Augusto dos Santos, Joel Gonzaga de Barros, Maria Neuda Fernandes Pinheiro, Marquisdélío da Silva Souza, Joel Herculano da Silva, Rômulo Miranda Silva. Effective members of the Supervisory Board are: Aparecida Carmelita de Sousa, Enoque da Silva Alves and Tania Valeria Ribeiro. Substitute members of the Fiscal Council are: Regina de Cassia Guimarães, Eunara Cristina Ferri, and Joserlei Custodio (CONACCOVEST 2017b).

CONNACOVEST's director is also part of IndustriALL's Executive Committee (CONACCOVEST 2014).

5.2.3 The National Confederation of Metallurgical Workers

The National Confederation of Metallurgical Workers (Confederação Nacional dos Trabalhadores Metalúrgicos, or CNTM) count on around 170 class entities (161 labor unions and nine federations). CNTM represents about 1.2 million metallurgical workers in all Brazilian states (CNTM 2011a). As well as CONACCOVEST, CNTM is also highly bureaucratic and hierarchical²¹⁰.

CNTM and Union Force got stronger in São Paulo partially because the industry's structure. While in "Grande ABC"²¹¹ metallurgical huge companies were stated, in São Paulo small companies were prevalent. In fact, while huge and politicized strikes came to happen in Grande ABC during the wildcat strikes at the end of the 70's, in São Paulo city such strikes were not observed, although the São Paulo's Metallurgical Union (*Sindicato dos Metalúrgicos de São Paulo* - SMSP) linked to the Union Force promoted strikes by companies or group of companies.

²¹⁰ Effective members of the Executive Board: President (Miguel Eduardo Torres), Vice-President (Mônica de Oliveira Lourenço Veloso), General Secretary (Pedro Celso Rosa), 1st General Secretary (Valcir Ascari), Secretary of Finances (Carlos Albino de Rezende Júnior), Secretary of Union Education (Arnaldo Woicichoski), Secretary of Union Issues (Alfani Alves), Secretary of Public Relations (Delson José de Oliveira), Secretary for Parliamentary Issues (Carlos Cavalcante de Lacerda), Secretary of International Relations (Edison Luis Venâncio), 1st Secretary of Finances (Carlos Alberto Pascoal Fidalgo). Substitutes of the Executive Board are: 1st (José Pereira dos Santos), 2nd (Paulo Roberto dos Santos Pissinini Júnior), 3rd (Luiz Antonio da Costa Abreu), 4th (Sílvio José Campos), 5th (José Luiz Ribeiro), 6th (Danilo de Amorim), 7th (Edgard Nunes da Silva), 8th (Maria Rosângela Lopes), 9th (Valdir de Souza), 10th (Jorge Nazareno Rodrigues). Fiscal Board, effectives: 1st (Aparecido Inácio da Silva), 2nd (Luis Antônio Visentainer), 3rd (Raimundo Nonato Roque de Carvalho). Substitutes of the Fiscal Council are: 1st (Cláudio Roberto Pereira), 2nd (Júlio Helton Medeiros da Silva), 3rd (Adilson Torres dos Santos) (CNTM 2011b).

²¹¹ "Grande ABC" is the acronym for region, near the capital of São Paulo State, that includes Santo André, São Bernardo, and São Caetano (the reason of the "ABC").

CNTM was legally recognized in August 5th, 1988 (the year of the Brazilian Constitution). The entity was founded before, in January 19th, 1985, having as president Joaquim dos Santos Andrade, popularly known as “Joaquinzão”, at that time president of the São Paulo’s metallurgical union (CNTM 2008). “Joaquinzão” is known, in the Brazilian labor history, as “pelego”. His history carries a bad reputation of being an informer and intervenor in 1964, the military coup’s year. The dictatorship used to destitute unions’ directions and nominate new ones and “Joaquinzão” was one of the persons responsible for doing so (Napolitano 2014).

The approval of the Confederation was stated even before, in August 1983, at the moment of the 11th National Metallurgical Congress (CNTM 2008). It’s worth mentioning, still, that at this moment Brazil was in the distention process, when rules from dictatorship were less severe. It’s worth mentioning also the metallurgical power at Força Sindical’s National Board:

Union Force’s National Board reflects the Congress [in which there’s] a predominance of leaders from metallurgical workers, followed by those from the Food industry. Besides the fact that Union Force’s Presidency is occupied by a metallurgical leader, unionists in this sector have seats in about one quarter of the National Board. Unionists from commerce and service industries are about 29% of the National Board. [...] on the other hand, lots of unions from the commerce and service industries represent professional categories not so strong in the Brazilian economy and union structure. [...] The same phenomena occur with entities of the group “other industries”, including delegates from [...] Union of Tailors, Seamstresses and Other Workers in the Garment Industry, the Union of Safety Technicians at Work, etc. In lots of cases, they are directors of small unions, with small economic importance, mobilization and pressure (Rodrigues and Cardoso 2009: 24, my translation²¹²).

²¹² Original text: “A Direção Nacional da Força Sindical reflete a composição do congresso, com a predominância de dirigentes dos sindicatos de metalúrgicos, seguidos dos da alimentação. Além do fato de a presidência da Força Sindical ser ocupada por um dirigente sindical metalúrgico, os sindicalistas deste setor ocupam aproximadamente um quarto dos lugares da Direção Nacional. Os sindicatos do setor de comércio e serviços compreendem 29% da Executiva Nacional. [...] Por outro lado, muitos dos sindicatos do comércio e serviços representam categorias profissionais de ramos de pouco peso na economia e na estrutura sindical brasileira. [...] A mesma coisa ocorre com as entidades do grupo “outras indústrias”, onde estão incluídos os delegados do [...] Sindicato de Alfaiates, Costureiras e Trabalhadores da Indústria da Confecção; do Sindicato dos Técnicos em Segurança do Trabalho, etc. Em muitos casos, trata-se de diretores de sindicatos de pequeno porte, de pouca importância econômica e de limitada capacidade de mobilização e de pressão sindical”.

CNTM moved to create union networks recently, on May 22th, 2013 (Costa 2013: 7), after “a series of internal debates and studies that pointed out the importance of multinational and transnational corporations in the rank-and-file” (CNTM 2013: 7, my translation²¹³). According to the Confederation, it has been a priority of political planning in strengthening the international actions of unions, and is part of CNTM's policy in international relations.

In 2013, the Strategic Coordination of Union Networks (*Coordenação Estratégica de Redes Sindicais*) was also created. Coordination scope included strengthening CNTM's international advocating for metallurgical workers' rights; strengthening and qualification of union leaders in struggling for hegemony; unity and identity at CNTM's union movement; defining a common strategy of CNTM with partner Federations and unions; preparing leaderships to understanding the importance of union networks; increasing information and experience exchange, and common struggles; negotiating nationally and internationally; guaranteeing participation and negotiation with unions through social dialogue, democracy, and fundamental right at work; establishing cooperation with organizations to finance and support union networks through projects and partnerships (CNTM 2013: 8). It's worth mentioning, still, formal gendered imbalances in its bureaucratic structure: there are around three women and six men at the Coordination. Apparently, none of them is a foreigner or young worker. Around four of these leaders are Black or “Pardo(a)”.

One frequent issue either in the fieldwork and Union Force's documents was a supposed threat of international union networks to local union. This is a special barrier to actions of Union Force's affiliates through international unionism, as demonstrated in CNTM's booklet: “The *main* issue that *should be* visible to all is that the network has as one of its main goals: strengthening unions and Federations' actions (the networks

²¹³ Original text: “a CNTM organizou uma série de debates internos e inúmeros estudos que apontaram a dimensão da representatividade de empresas multinacionais e transnacionais que compõem a base de seus filiados”.

should never substitute them)” (CNTM 2013: 7, my translation²¹⁴ and emphasis). IndustriALL’s role is also mentioned as a motivating organization for union networks, as well as (again) its roles and rules (CNTM 2013: 15).

5.3 Documental analysis

In this section I aim to analyze some online relevant documents related to international unionism or daily-life of union organizations. The focus is on an intersectional approach: how union organizations manage to include somehow diversity, leading to international efforts. As some relevant documents are not extensive enough for a quantitative analysis, the qualitative analysis is in place.

When reading this chapter, two issues must be in one’s mind: control variables also are worth for the success of an international labor organization (all them are presented in chapter three and literature review) but in this chapter respecting diversity is the worthier for analysis purposes. Union Force is considered business unionism by robust previous research (see, for instance, Tropaia 2004 and Rodrigues and Cardoso 2009), so Confederations linked to the Union force (CNTM in the metallurgical sector and CONACCOVEST in the textile), while the Sole Union of Workers and Confederations linked to this central union (CNM in the metallurgical sector and CNTRV in the textile) are considered social movement unionism.

The qualitative method of word clouds through “atlas.ti” software employs a correlated sample between the positive and negative pole for the two different industries, steel and garment. The argument is that labor organizations with philosophies linked to the social movement unionism are more likely to transnationalize than those linked to business unionism because NSU are, since the Seattle Battle

²¹⁴ Original text: “O principal ponto que deve estar claro a todos é que o trabalho em Rede tem como um dos seus principais objetivos: fortalecer a atuação de Sindicatos e Federações (as Redes não podem e nunca deverão substituir o papel dos Sindicatos e Federações)”.

formally and before in other experiences (as demonstrated in chapter one), aware of other worth issues and alliances and, thus, more politicized and open to (international) partnerships.

Since the hypothesis is tested is that diversity increases the internationalization of union organizations, it's worth mentioning that prominent union networks in certain industries are already quite successful, due to structural power of workers (in our case studies, at the steel industry). CNTM's manual, for instance, mentions that "in recent years some union networks appeared. Among them we mention ThyssenKrupp, ZF, Daimler, Mahle, Bosch, VW, GM, Rheinmetall, Siemens, Schäffler, Continental and ArcelorMittal, among others" (CNTM 2013: 19, my translation²¹⁵). In this quote, it's evident the success of union networks in heavy and vertical industries, usually producer-driven industries. Bearing this issue in mind, it's time to move on:

5.3.1 CUT

The Guide for Constructing Union Networks in Multinational Companies (*Guia para a Construção de Redes Sindicais em Empresas Multinacionais*) is probably one of the most important tools and references for unionists in the task of international efforts. It's directed not only for CUT's members, but also for unionists in other ideological affiliations. As we shall see, identity politics is a recurrent issue at CUT's guide, and appears at the manual frequently. The manual recovers CUT's directives that states that:

The struggle for universal rights, CUT's historic flag, is reinforced daily with the central's active participation in constructing public and affirmative policies in diverse society's sectors and segments, together with the government and

²¹⁵ Original text: "surgiram nos últimos anos algumas Redes Sindicais importantes. Entre elas contamos a ThyssenKrupp, ZF, Daimler, Mahle, Bosch, VW, GM, Rheinmetall, Siemens, Schäffler, Continental e ArcelorMittal, entre outras".

social movements, *specially women's, youth's, disabled's, health's, elderly's, and against racial discrimination*, among others (CUTMulti 2009: 36, my translation and emphasis)²¹⁶

Another moment in which minorities are a preoccupation in CUT's perspective is the "call" (Convocatoria) for activities. At this moment, according to CUT guide's recommendation, there should be attention to those workers that are not established in privileged posts, usually also better positioned in jobs and politics: "it's important to guarantee the representation of *all segment of workers*, [including] *women, young Black workers, disabled people and etc.*" (CUTMulti 2009: 31, my translation and emphasis)²¹⁷. This perspective is also important due to the representativeness issues pointed out.

A passage in which it's clear the interrelation between the construction of a bottom-up network, workers' empowerment, and identity politics is at the moment of "diagnosis in the working place". The proposal of firstly knowing the workforce profile paying attention to minorities' *and then proposing and undertaking* policies is quite fundamental in adequating union's policies to face power imbalances in the labor markets and union representation.

Knowing the reality of each company's unity is fundamental for the network's operation. The process of mapping each plant should be continuous and evaluate relevant items, as benefits, remunerations, Participation in Profits and Results (*Participação nos Lucros e Resultados*, or PLR), career plan, work hours, Health and Safety conditions, and so on.

The working place diagnosis must include also information about *workers' representation and their composition, considering gender, race, and youth* in these spaces. For the committee, it's important knowing about the operation of the Internal Commission for the Prevention of Accidents (*Comissão Interna de Prevenção de Acidentes*, or CIPA), Workers' Commission (when there's one), and number of shop stewards. Besides being part of the network, these

²¹⁶ Original text: "A luta por direitos universais, bandeira histórica da CUT, e reafirmada diariamente com a participação ativa da Central na construção de políticas públicas e afirmativas em diversos setores e segmentos da sociedade, realizada em conjunto com governo e movimentos sociais, especialmente mulheres, juventude, pessoas com deficiência física, saúde, idosos, combate a discriminação racial, entre outros."

²¹⁷ Original text: "é importante garantir a representação de todos os segmentos dos(as) trabalhadores(as) com a participação de mulheres, negros e negras jovens, pessoas com deficiências, etc".

representations might be the *communication channel between the group and the basis* (CUTMulti 2009: 29-30, my translation and emphasis)²¹⁸.

Another passage in which concern with (proper) representativeness brings up the gap between CUT's recommendations and actual policies: "In most network women's participation is basically nonexistent. To improve this picture *it's suggested that the committee create and apply politics of participation that guarantee gender, race and youth participation*" (CUTMulti 2009: 37, my translation and emphasis)²¹⁹.

Measures taken by CUT that increase bottom-up designs in networks are, for instance, regular meetings – in which participants "define their policies, plan their activities, and exchange informations about practices adopted by companies" (CUTMulti 2009: 30-31, my translation)²²⁰ –, Union Connection (*Conexão sindical*) – a database with more than 15 thousand news and informations in 2009 –, organization at the level of industries in the chemical, commerce and services, and financial sectors, and partnership with other organizations, as Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES), Solidarity Center (AFL-CIO), USW (United SteelWorkers), Comisiones Obreras (CCOO), and FNV.

²¹⁸ Original text: "Conhecer a realidade de cada unidade da empresa-alvo é fundamental para o bom andamento dos trabalhos da rede. O processo de mapeamento de cada planta precisa ser contínuo e avaliar itens de relevância como: benefícios, remuneração, PLR, plano de cargos, jornada de trabalho, condições de saúde e segurança, etc.

O diagnóstico do local de trabalho deve incluir também informações sobre a representação dos trabalhadores na localidade e sua composição levando em consideração a participação de gênero, raça e juventude nesses espaços. Para o comitê é importante saber sobre funcionamento da CIPA, da Comissão de Fábrica, quando existente, e o número de delegados sindicais. Além de poder fazer da rede essas representações poderão ser o canal de comunicação entre grupo e a base".

²¹⁹ Original text: "Na maioria das redes já formadas a participação feminina e praticamente inexistente. Para melhorar esse quadro é sugerido que os comitês criem e apliquem políticas de participação que garantam a inclusão de gênero, raça e juventude".

²²⁰ Original text: "definem suas políticas, planejam suas atividades e trocam informações sobre as práticas adotadas pelas empresas".

5.3.1.1 CNTRV's magazine

The National Confederation of Workers in the Apparel Industry doesn't have a specific manual for guiding labor unionists and other leaders in union networks. For this analysis, the last Confederation's magazine is taken as the document. Race, gender, and youth are some of the minorities addressed as part of the Confederation's politics.

Regarding race, attention from the CUT's National Secretary for fighting Racism is given to the fact that "We [Black workers] are 51% of the Brazilian population but unfortunately we work in the worst and less remunerated jobs" (CNTV 2015: 26, my translation²²¹). It's interesting to note that race is approached to Black workers, but not for Indigenous or other populations. Regarding gender, it's mentioned that women workers "Perform the same job, but get less payment, just because are women (CNTV 2015: 27, my translation²²²). Regarding youth, it's stressed the relevance of dignity at work. It's worth call attention for the fact that in this document it's reflected the broader politics CUT is used to get involved, for instance, in the:

Youth's Statute, approved in 2013, that establishes rights guaranteed by law to Brazilian workers from 15 to 29 years – about 51 million people. CUT's youth participated actively in the process of elaborating and approving the statute. Among the 11 guaranteed rights, it's the right of professionalization, work, and income (CNTV 2015: 32, my translation²²³).

A moment in which is visible broader politics conjugated with identity politics is at the CNTRV's Secretariat of Social Policies narrative: "We struggle for racial equality, for the worker's health – physical and psychological. We also have been

²²¹ Original text: "Somos 51% da população brasileira, mas infelizmente resta para negros e negras do nosso País os postos de trabalho mais precarizados, com menor remuneração".

²²² Original text: "Exercem a mesma função, mas acabam recebendo menos, apenas porque são mulheres".

²²³ Original text: "Estatuto da Juventude, aprovado em 2013, que determina os direitos garantidos por lei aos jovens brasileiros de 15 a 29 anos – um contingente de cerca de 51 milhões de pessoas. A juventude CUTista participou ativamente do processo de elaboração do estatuto e lutou para que fosse aprovado. Entre os 11 direitos garantidos está o direito à profissionalização, ao trabalho e à renda".

supporting good public transportation” (CNTV 2015: 30, my translation²²⁴). Another interesting issue that goes beyond the daily life of a business labor union is the national and international whipsawing. Internationally, the concern with China. Nationally, the concern with a collective agreement reaching the whole country. According to the president of the North and Northwest Federation: “We want to unify agendas and start negotiating by region. We aim to equalize rights, wages and benefits to all workers. Therefore, when a company is in the South and aims to go to the Northeast, will be aware that what’s being offered to workers will be maintained” (CNTV 2015: 21, my translation²²⁵)

Finally, the partnership with IndustriALL and other international organizations are stressed, as well as the relevance of fighting transnational corporation’s power. At this moment, Joao Felicio, CUT’s ex-president, was already International Trade Union Confederation’s president. This issue was the introduction of the “international relations” portion of the booklet, as its Secretariat mentions: “Workers acting globally are needed, either through ITUC, international unions, or union networks, that is the ways we are investing upon” (CNTV 2015: 35, my translation²²⁶), including fighting the increasing power of multinational corporations (CNTV 2015).

Finally, the STOP Precarious Work²²⁷, IndustriALL’s agenda, is highlighted:

In this struggle, the clothing, metallurgical, and chemical industries linked to central unions adhered to the project STOP Precarious Work, launched by IndustriALL Global Union. The global project has coordinations in Africa, Asia, Europe, North America, Latin America and the Caribbean. It aims to identify practices and experiences of confederations, federations, and labor unions in fighting all forms of precarious work, besides creating a space for exchange of

²²⁴ Original text: “Lutamos pela igualdade racial, pela saúde do trabalhador – física e psicológica. Também temos apoiado muito a questão do transporte público de qualidade”.

²²⁵ Original text: “Queremos unificar as pautas e começar a negociar por região. Buscamos igualar os direitos, os salários e os benefícios oferecidos a todos os trabalhadores. Assim, uma empresa que está no Sul, quando decide ir para o Nordeste, vai estar ciente de que o que era oferecido aos trabalhadores continuará”.

²²⁶ Original text: “É preciso que os trabalhadores também tenham capacidade de atuar globalmente, seja a partir da CSI, seja a partir dos sindicatos globais, seja a partir da construção de redes sindicais, que é onde estamos investindo”.

²²⁷ IndustriALL (2016). STOP Precarious Work. Available at: <http://www.industriall-union.org/issues/social-justice-and-globalization/stop-precarious-work>. Accessed in January 21th, 2017.

experiences and capacitation of leaders through actions aiming decent and healthy labor relations.

[...] In the clothing industry, we aim approving a national normative that guarantees ergonomics in the workplace and a rhythm of production compatible with worker's capacities. We also struggle for approving a national collective contract that guarantees respect to rights and a decent wage in any part of the country (CNTV 2015: 23, my translation²²⁸).

It's worth stressing that the experience of a national collective agreement, as well as the macro sector project, is one of the main agendas at CUT.

5.3.1.1 CNM

CNM's public news on union networks doesn't touch much on identity politics, although touches more than Union Force in this issue. Compared to Union Force's available documents, advocacy of members and information available on the website are also higher. Plus, and in comparison, it's more political and less formal. One issue recurrent on CNM's practices and related to union networks is coalition with other union organizations, from other countries.

While at Union Force international networks began to be drawn in 2012 and were institutionalized in 2013, at the Sole Union of Workers the first movements started to be drawn in 2006. At this moment, the internationalization of a Brazilian company, Vale do Rio Doce, pushed labor unionists from Canada and the US to articulate with Brazilian unions through the United Steelworkers (USW) (2006a). In the agenda were

²²⁸ Original text: "Nesta luta, os ramos vestuário, metalúrgico e químico ligados às centrais sindicais no Brasil aderiram ao projeto Combate ao Trabalho Precário, lançado pela IndustriALL Global Union. O projeto global e com coordenações regionais na África, Ásia, Europa, América do Norte e América Latina e Caribe, tem como objetivo identificar práticas e experiências de confederações, federações e sindicatos no combate a todas as formas de precarização, além de criar espaços para troca de experiências e capacitação de dirigentes para ações que visem a conquista de condições e relações de trabalho sadias e decentes.

[...] No ramo vestuário, buscamos a aprovação de uma norma nacional que garanta ergonomia no local de trabalho e ritmo de produção condizente com as capacidades dos trabalhadores. Também lutamos pela aprovação de um contrato nacional coletivo de trabalho, que garanta o respeito aos direitos e ao salário digno em qualquer lugar do País".

included monthly bulletins, wages, information exchange through the internet, and environmental impacts of the company (idem).

The Confederation also presented the idea of the World Committee at the newsletter. The World Committee is organized by company, “independently of geographic location” (Valor qtd. CNM 2006b), of which Brazil was participating in 15 of them at the metallurgical sector. It was taken as example the World Committee at Volkswagen, the first in the world, to demonstrate a successful case of international union advocacy: “pioneer, [the World Committee emerged in 1999. Since then, workers’ representatives participated in two world meetings, that are held twice a year. The debates about the actual dismissal plan at the ABC runned the world” (Valor qtd. CNM 2006b, my translation²²⁹). Other networks mentioned were ThyssenKrupp, Magneti Marelli, DaimlerChrysler, Ford, Mahle, WEG, Embraer, and Alcoa. An IFA at Gerdau to establish standards for wages was at stake (Valor qtd. CNM 2006b), not established over time. Comparison between Mercosul and European Union (CNM 2006c), a broad congress with representatives from Chile, Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay, Spain and Brazil (2006d).

In the following year a broad Seminar was organized by CNM in partnership with IMF (actual IndustriALL), IF Metall, UOM Argentina, and FES. The International Seminar “Industrial Politics, Development, and Global Action of Unions and Union Networks” (Seminário Internacional 'Política Industrial, Desenvolvimento e Ação Global dos Sindicatos e Redes de Trabalhadores') (CNM 2007a). At the 7th Congress, union networks were institutionalized for the first time, mainly through IFAs:

- a) Disclosing and illustrating among affiliated unions the value of IFAs as one more tool for supporting the fight against precarious work, especially to advocate worker’s rights at supply chains. It’s worth mentioning that nothing substitutes union action and organization, the only issues that guarantee respect to the accords in companies;
- b) Negotiating IFAs with companies and the implementation of IFAs in Brazil, articulating with IMF [actual IndustriALL] and respective union organizations from other countries;

²²⁹ Original text: “pioneiro, surgiu em 1999. Desde a criação, os representantes dos trabalhadores da montadora no Brasil participam das reuniões mundiais, que ocorrem duas vezes ao ano. A discussão do atual plano de demissões no ABC já percorreu o mundo”.

- c) *Demanding from the IMF [IndustriALL] our participation* in negotiating with new companies with units in the country;
- d) Presenting demands from IFAs and prioritizing TNCs from our industries (Gerdau, CVRD, Marcopolo, Weg, etc.), for instance, Embraer;
- e) Performing educational, communicative, and organizational activities, based on the existing IFAs, directed to the whole supply chain, especially regarding to union organizing (ILO's Convention 87), issue presented in all IFAs;
- f) Keep supporting the creation and maintenance of Networks, National and International Workers' Committees, in issues as tools for organizing, indispensable for negotiating, implementing, and monitoring IFAs (CNM 2007a, my translation²³⁰ and emphasis).

In 2008, the character of CNM's activism and the identity politics were outstanding. On the activist side, CNM promoted and participated in the World Social Forum (CNM 2008a), World Journey for Decent in partnership with TUCA (rights at work, solidarity, end of poverty and inequality) (CNM 2008b), European Social Forums (CNM 2008c), and self-sufficiency (CNM 2008d) of union networks: "Confederations and labor unions involved in building union networks must inform the International Relations department their counterpart in events, such as expenditures with food, transportation, housing and others" (CNM 2008b, my translation²³¹). Partnerships were promoted with other institutions, such as Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Social Observatory

²³⁰ Original text: "a) Divulgar e esclarecer entre os Sindicatos filiados a utilidade dos AMIs como mais uma ferramenta de apoio à luta contra a precarização do Trabalho, sobretudo para defender os interesses dos trabalhadores na cadeia de fornecimento, bem como divulgar os Acordos já existentes, ressaltando que nada substitui a ação e organização sindical e só elas garantem o respeito aos acordos pelas empresas;

b) Buscar negociar com as empresas com AMIs, nos casos em que isto ainda não ocorreu, a sua implantação em todas as unidades no Brasil, de forma articulada com a FITIM e os Sindicatos dos respectivos países de origem das empresas;

c) Demandar da FITIM a nossa participação na negociação com novas empresas que tenham unidades no país;

d) Apresentar a reivindicação do AMI e dar prioridade às ETNs brasileiras do nosso ramo (Gerdau, CVRD, Marcopolo, Weg, etc.), como já fizemos com a Embraer;

e) Realizar atividades formativas, de comunicação e de organização com base nos AMI existentes, dirigidos a toda a cadeia de fornecimento, sobretudo quanto ao respeito à organização sindical (Convenção 87 da OIT), dispositivo presente em todos os AMIs;

f) Continuar apoiando a criação e manutenção das Redes e Comitês Nacionais e Internacionais de Trabalhadores, entre outros objetivos, como ferramentas de organização imprescindíveis para a negociação, implantação e monitoramento dos AMIs".

²³¹ Original text: "Confederações e sindicatos envolvidos na construção de redes sindicais devem informar SRI toda sua contrapartida nos eventos, tais como despesas com alimentação, transporte, alojamento, e outros".

Institute, Dieese, Ethos Institute, First Plan (Primeiro Plano), Abong²³², Oxfam, ILO, and representatives from Bayer, ThyssenKrupp, and Freie Universität Berlin. On the identity politics side, actions included youth exchange of experiences between CNM/CUT and IG Metall (CNM 2008c) and a campaign against violence over women (2008f).

In the following year, prominent activities at CNM included the World Social Forum and large partnerships with other organizations in the labor movement (CNM 2009a/b), a stronger proximity with unionists from the US (CNM 2009c/d), and an educational workshops (CNM 2009e). The partnership with IndustriALL kept in the agenda (CNM 2009f). One interesting act regarding activism was the launching of an International Relations' collective (CNM 2009g).

Partnerships with other organizations in the labor movement included foundations as Friedrich Ebert, Institutes as the Social Observatory, Brazilian national Confederations (CNM, CNQ - Confederação Nacional do Ramo Químico -, Contracs - Confederação Nacional dos Trabalhadores no Comércio e Serviços -, and Contraf - Confederação Nacional dos Trabalhadores do Ramo Financeiro), international organizations (IMF and ICEM – actual IndustriALL), labor organizations from other countries (IG BCE and IG Metall German labor unions, USW North-American labor, CGT - Confederación General del Trabajo – Spanish Labor Center), Solidarity Center (US) (CNM 2009b).

The Confederation also visited the United SteelWorkers to exchange information specifically in union networks at Gerdau, Vale, ArcelorMittal, ThyssenKrupp, Alcoa, and Tenaris. The resolution for Brazilian labor unionists was a proposal of denounces in the National Point of Contacts established by OECD (CNM 2009c). In another meeting and still in partnership with North-American labor unionists, debates

²³² Abong (Brazilian Association of Non-Governmental Organizations) is a national platform founded in 1991 with the purpose of coordinating civil society organizations (CSOs) that campaign for human rights, democracy and a more solidary, just and sustainable world. The association also fosters local and regional processes, disseminates information, builds and shares strategies and gives visibility to this political field, which has acquired a higher public profile in the country and worldwide since the ECO-92 Earth Summit (the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development) which took place in Rio de Janeiro in 1992.

around union formal structures in both countries were held: in the US, establishing contracts even with union cards, and in Brazil, the fragmented structure of representation was the main challenge (CNM 2009d). Partnership with German organizations were never broken and one meeting was held for comparison of both realities (CNM 2009h).

Unity kept as a priority in IndustriALL's agenda, that also promoted "more international union networks and more effective International Framework Agreements" (CNM 2009f, my translation²³³). The International Relations' collective was composed by people with know-how in union networks, as "shop stewards that are already members of global councils in respective companies they are employees" (CNM 2009g, my translation²³⁴). The aim of the collective was "uniting affinities and paving ways for the working class" (CNM 2009g, my translation²³⁵).

In the context of international crisis, CUT promoted an International Seminar – Crisis and Union Strategies (Crise e Estratégias Sindicais) to "build union strategies for confronting and disputing a model of development alternative to the hegemonic" (CNM 2009i, my translation²³⁶). In this sense, it's worth making a parenthesis to note Wills' critique on the abstract and optimistic narratives of counter-hegemony:

The abstract notion of working class solidarity (based on Marx's famous dictum, "Workers of the world united, you have nothing to lose but your chains!" has not been strongly embedded amongst the troops of the labour movement in the 20th century. Trade unionism has tended to be pragmatic, anti-intellectual and inspired by short-term, workplace-based goals. Material circumstances and political affiliations have tended to conspire against the adoption of genuine labour internationalism. In today's economy, there is a desperate need to reimagine and reconstruct the notion of solidarity in ways that incorporate networks of trade unionists beyond the national arena (Wills 1998: 187).

It's interesting to note that this vague idea of abstract global solidarity was expressed in a seminar with supposed critical thinkers, as the seminar counted on the

²³³ Original text: "mais redes sindicais mundiais e Acordos Marco Internacionais mais eficazes".

²³⁴ Original text: "dirigentes do Sindicato que já integram conselhos globais e comitês mundiais em suas empresas".

²³⁵ Original text: "unir afinidades e construir caminhos para a classe trabalhadora".

²³⁶ Original text: "construir estratégias sindicais de enfrentamento e disputa de um modelo de desenvolvimento alternativo ao hegemônico".

participation of representatives from Universities, the ILO, the Center for Economic and Policy Research, ITUC, TUAC/OCDEI, Itamaraty (the diplomatic branch of the Brazilian state), ITUC Africa, CUT's International Relations' and women's department. Other issues related to the Seminar were agreements with countries that adopted Portuguese as language (a triangular CUT/COSATU/KCTU) and with the Coordenadora de Centrais Sindicais do Cone Sul (CCSCS). The importance of unions' participation in organizations as Mercosul, Unasul, TUCA, the Global Labour University, participation of labor organizations in forums as G-8 and G-20, and against Alca and Doha Round was also mentioned.

Solidarity with the Cuban people and against the criminal US block, support to Bolivia against the right and the US imperialism and to a sovereign Haiti, and the demand of Zelaya to the presidency were some the supporting acts at the conference. Regarding minorities, support for young workers and women was expressed by IMF/IndustriALL, specifically preoccupation with 20% of women representation (2009j/k).

In 2010, when IMF hasn't still turned into IndustriALL, CNM/CUT participated in sectorial encounters (CNM 2010b); got involved in organizing in transnational companies as Volkswagen, Daimler, BMW, PSA, Renault, Fiat, GM, Ford, Chrysler, Toyota, Honda, Hyundai/Kia, Volvo, and Rolls Royce (CNM 2010c) and in Latin-American multinational companies, as Vale, WEG, Votorantim, Petrobras, Arauco, and Odebrecht (2010d/e); had encounters about IFAs and union networks (CNM 2010f) and exchanges with IGMetall (CNM 2010g).

A high level of investment in educational programs was promoted in 2011. It seems that the Confederation was making efforts to know better the *modus operandi* of union networks through. For instance, booklets by CNM (2011a) and IMF (CNM 2011b), Seminar about rights of workers on German and Brazilian multinational corporations with organizations as DGB, IGMetall and Social Observatory (CNM 2011c), and extensionist courses with criteria of selection regarding gender, race, and age (CNM 2011d/e). International ties were also promoted, for instance with union leaders in companies as ArcelorMittal, Ford, Caterpillar, Daimler e Gerdau (CNM 2011f),

supporting IndustriALL's constitution (CNM 2011g), events abroad (CNM 2011h) and alliances with the Union Force (CNM 2011i).

A special year for identity politics promotion was 2012. It included special educational encounter for young union leaders (in partnership with IndustriALL) (CNM 2012a). At this moment the Sole Central demonstrated why is distinct from Union Force. The event also approached women workers (CNM 2012a). Union networks promoted by the the Sole Central's chemical confederation included gender and youth issues (CNM 2012b). In another encounter, emphasis was given to the course on gender, race and youth along 2012 and women organizing in Mozambique (CNM 2012c). That was also a year to test and put on the track union networks, as reception of union leaders from other countries (for instance, DGB's and ITUC's president visiting the Confederation) (CNM 2012 d/e), meeting of union networks to debate workers' rights in a project among CUT/IOS/DGBBW/CNM/CNQ to establish "good practices" (CNM 2012f). It's worth mentioning, still, an encounter with Gerdau's union leaders (CNM 2012g).

In 2013, CNM invested in educational programs - for metallurgical and chemical workers (CNM 2013a/b) and the release of a cartoon of union networks (CNM 2013c) - and partnerships - with United Steelworkers (CNM 2013d), DGB Bildungswerk (CNM 2013e), universities, civil society organizations, and the government (2013f/g).

It's interesting to note that identity politics happened to be also with the Global South, as those with metallurgical women and young workers in Mozambique, together with IndustriALL: "It's worth highlighting also that IndustriALL is partner with CNM/CUT in important projects, as union networks, youth, and Mozambican metallurgical women" (CNM 2013h, my translation²³⁷). One project of CNM that is worth to be mentioned is the organization of workers through sectors/industries (CNM 2013i). Regarding this last issue, it's worth pointing out the important aspect of strengthening of international union networks in these industries. The year of 2014 was especially

²³⁷ Original text: "Cabe destacar também que a IndustriALL é parceira da CNM/CUT em projetos importantes, como o de Redes Sindicais e de Setores, o de Juventude e o de Formação Sindical de mulheres metalúrgicas de Moçambique".

invested in international events, as encounters of international union networks (CNM 2014b/c), specific ones involving metallurgical women from the South and the youth (CNM 2014d/e).

The Action on Multinationals in Latin America was in full swing in 2015. The Education secretary highlighted the fact that the quote of 30% for women in the Direction Board was established three years ago and reached only at that meeting, highlighting the importance of parity between genders as well (CNM 2015a).

The project Action over Multinationals in Latin America was at stake in 2016, uniting unionists from Brazil, Mexico, and Argentina in the construction, metallurgical, chemical, and clothing industries. The event, together with the Social Observatory Institute and the DGB BW, promoted 30% of women participation. According to Cida Trajano, president of the Clothing Confederation and member of the central's national Board of Directors, labor unions have been including the Sole Union's resolution of educating politically young, women, and Black participants (Social Observatory Institute qtd. CNM 2016b).

In 2017, although Brazilian turbulences regarding the *coup d'état*, the confederation kept promoting identity politics, as the involvement of the Secretary of Youth in union networks (CNM 2017c) and qualification of educators through "the relevance of transversity of issues as gender, race, LGBT rights and disability" (CNM 2017d, my translation²³⁸). Union networks, and women and youth political qualification were presented as relevant issues at CNM's 25th birthday (Cayres 2017).

5.3.2 Union Force

The Union Force has no specific booklet, general manual for union leaders or any other guidelines at the level of the central for educational purposes. The information

²³⁸ Original text: "importância da transversalidade de temas como gênero, raça, LGBT e pessoas com deficiência".

below was found reviewing Union Force's information in their website. In any moment identity politics is addressed at Union Force's networks' information. To be fair, in 2012, youth was promoted at Union Force, but because of IndustriALL's initiative through the metallurgical, textile and chemical sectors. In the same year, *some* information started to fluid at Union Force's website (FS 2012a). The World Day for Decent Work was also an agenda promoted by an external organization, in this case, through the Trade Union Confederation of Americas (TUCA) (FS 2012b). As expected, the metallurgical sector took the lead in organizing international union networks (FS 2012c).

The turning point for promotion at international union networks at the Union Force happened to be in 2013 through – as expected – a strong union organization from the metallurgical sector, CNTM. That year, the Strategic Coordination of Union Networks (Coordenação Estratégica de Redes Sindicais, or CEReS) was created. Workshops of education for labor organizations were, by consequence, limited to this industry, either in the level of labor unions, federations, or confederations (FS 2013a). At this moment, besides CNTM, CNM, and CONACCOVEST, confederations associated to IndustriALL were: the National Confederation of Workers in the Chemical Industry (Confederação Nacional dos Trabalhadores no Ramo Químico, or CNTQ), and the National Confederation of the Chemical Industry (Confederação Nacional do Ramo Químico, or CNQ, also affiliated to CUT).

It's interesting to note that the narrative of CNTM's vice-president oscillates between solidarity and defense of specific sectoral interests. Solidarity among unions of the world include narratives as “union networks are an important tool of debates, information exchange and concrete actions of solidarity between the working class and the union movement, in Brazil and the world” (FS 2013b, my translation²³⁹). Defense of specific interests of workers in the industry include narratives as “union networks are

²³⁹ Original text: “as redes sindicais são um importante instrumento de debates, intercâmbio de informações e ações concretas de solidariedade entre a classe trabalhadora e o movimento sindical, no Brasil e no mundo”.

another means of communication in defending the metallurgical industry” (FS 2013c, my translation²⁴⁰).

One last issue that is not related to union networks, but was awaring Union Force at that time was the slavery-like conditions at work, in partnership with ILO (Agencia Brasil qtd. FS 2013d). To be sure, slavery-like conditions and measures to fight them was at Union Force’s daily life since 2007 (Folha de S. Paulo qtd. FS 2007), but taking action seems to have happened just under a “push” from other organizations.

In 2014, CNTM’s network at Union Force was set up, and so meetings and other agendas. The character of these activities, however, was quite of a summit, top-down, with no involvement of shop stewards or other leaders. In this meeting, CNTM’s vice-president, general secretary, director for parliamentary issues and director of finances, as well as Minas Gerais’ Federation’s president, Osasco’s Metallurgical Worker’s director, and assistants were present. A E-Group to facilitate information exchange was one of the main agendas at that meeting (FS 2014a) and other similar arrangements were held that year (2014b).

At CONACCOVEST, in 2014, an encounter was promoted in partnership with IndustriALL and FES. It involved workers’ representatives from Argentina, Brazil, Ecuador, Guatemala, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Dominican Republic, and Uruguay. The importance of IFAs and stopping Precarious Work were stressed (FS 2014c). In that year, the ILO started promoting the elimination of slave labor, together with the United States, focusing on the textile sector. This issue concerned the Union Force (FS 2014d).

In the following year, the activities of the network kept being encouraged. The narratives of involving the rank-and-file were also constants while the summit encounters keep being practiced (FS 2015).

²⁴⁰ Original text: “redes sindicais são mais um meio de comunicação em defesa da categoria metalúrgica”.

5.3.2.2 CONACCOVEST's website

CONACCOVEST has no specific booklet or guide for union leaders. As mentioned, since 2007 the Confederation is aware of slavery-like conditions in supply chains at the textile involving immigrant populations (FS 2007 a/b). As immigrant workers are not formal workers, they are more of a threat to formal employment with which Brazilian labor organizations are concerned with, than the object of true attention and action of labor organizations.

There are some events – not organized by CONACCOVEST – to improve union capacity on the garment's supply chain. For instance, on August 12th-14th, 2014, a workshop on Union strengthening at the global supply chain (*Fortalecimento da capacidade sindical na cadeia da produção global*) was held. Representatives from Argentina, Brazil, Ecuador, Guatemala, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Dominican Republic, and Uruguay were present. The workshop was organized by IndustriALL and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (CONACCOVEST 2014). The theme was slavery-like and outsourced working conditions in the sector (CONACCOVEST 2014).

Therefore, not surprisingly, "Slave Labor" is one of the main Confederation's booklets. As in other documents from the Union Force, this one focus on typifying and categorizing, and is more formal and less political than the Sole Union of Worker's documents. The Confederation describes the national and international legal framework for contemporary slavery and then some Brazilian cases around 2012: the Brazilian Penal Code's article 149 describes slavery as "forcing someone to work"; Brazil ratified ILO's Conventions 29 (Forced Labor) and 105 (Abolition of Forced Labor); coercion and denial of freedom as the two main characteristics of forced labor worldwide. The booklet presented specific cases and companies with slavery-like conditions on supply chains: Zara, Collin's collective sue, Marisa, and Pernambucanas.

It's interesting to note that although CONACCOVEST does not present any identity politics, prejudice against indigenous workers was pointed out, as well as their

vulnerability, intersection with other social markers of difference (as being paperless), lack of empowerment, and bottom-up initiatives from workers.

Prejudice against indigenous, specifically against Quechua and Aymara speakers from Bolivia were found at Zara's case and described in official documents:

A clear discrimination from employers can be observed. All Brazilian workers in any point of the supply chain were properly formalized through the Working and Social security booklet [*Carteira de Trabalho e Previdência Social*, or CTPS], under legal work shifts, having guaranteed their working and social rights [...]. On the other hand, immigrant and indigenous workers were found in a situation of deplorable and ignoble, in complete informality, exhausting working shifts, and degrading working environment (Ministry of Work and Employment qtd.Reporter Brasil 2011, my translation²⁴¹).

The booklet also mentions the Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry (*Comissão Parlamentar de Inquerito*) due to the Zara's case. It's quite striking the lack of empowerment and bottom-up initiatives from workers. According to the auditor responsible for the operation that set workers free from slavery-like conditions at Zara's GSC, workers would never access the hotline for denouncing labor exploitation, since: "[...] knowing this people and their vulnerable situation, victims will not seek [the hotline] precisely for fear that the 0800 powering the company she works for is accredited. So, this is a measure absolutely inefficient measure" (CONACCOVEST 2012: 21). In the Collins case, it's also obvious the vulnerability of being an "illegal" foreigner intersecting with labor exploitation: "feared [of] being deported from the country, since all were undocumented" (CONACCOVEST 2012: 29). In the Marisa's case, the Bolivian origin of most workers was also identified: "Most came from El Alto, Bolivia, the Andean highlands, a city of about 1 million inhabitants, close to the capital La Paz, scheduled to be focal point for migrants and indigenous peasants" (CONACCOVEST 2012: 43).

²⁴¹ Original text: "Observa-se com nitidez a atitude empresarial de discriminação. Todos os trabalhadores brasileiros encontrados trabalhando em qualquer um dos pontos da cadeia produtiva estavam devidamente registrados em CTPS [*Carteira de Trabalho e Previdência Social*], com jornadas de trabalho condizentes com a lei, e garantidos em seus direitos trabalhistas e previdenciários", destaca o relatório da fiscalização. "Por outro lado, os trabalhadores imigrantes indígenas encontram-se em situação de trabalho deplorável e indigno, em absoluta informalidade, jornadas extenuantes e meio ambiente de trabalho degradante".

5.3.2.2 CNTM's manual on union networks

Recently CNTM started organizing in union networks. In 2013, a meeting was taken to carry out a systematic organizing and the booklet “Union Networks: building unity for equal rights” (*Redes Sindicais: construir a unidade para a igualdade de Direitos*) was published.

A quick search for keywords as race, gender and nationality show two specific passage that are not part of Union Force's policy, but it is contained in International Framework Agreements developed by Siemens AG, Central Works Council of Siemens AG, IG Metall, and IndustriALL Global Union: “The principles of opportunity and equal treatment apply independently of color of skin, ethnicity or social historic, religion, age, disabled condition, sexual orientation, worldview and gender” (CNTM 2013: 32, my translation)²⁴². The IFA's example is Bosch's and there's also a passage about identity politics in there: “We respect equal chances for our workers, independently of color, race, gender, nationality, social origin, disability and sexual orientation (CNTM 2013: 36, my translation)²⁴³.

It's worth mentioning, however, some attempts of neutral language regarding gender and concern with the rank-and-file. In the Portuguese language, nouns and pronouns are specific for males and females. So, specifying “inclusion of male and female workers from the rank-and-file in activities of union networks” (CNTM 2013: 6, my translation²⁴⁴) is a form of inclusion through gender, although not through age, nationality, or other forms of identity politics.

There's, on the other hand, appreciation for bureaucratic structures, directions, hierarchies, rules, and mandatory issues. As a matter of fact, some parts of

²⁴² Original text: “Os princípios de igualdade de oportunidade e tratamento se aplicam independentemente da cor da pele, etnia ou histórico social, religião, idade, deficiência, identidade sexual, visão do mundo e gênero”.

²⁴³ Original text: “Respeitamos a igualdade de chances das nossas trabalhadoras e dos nossos trabalhadores, independente de cor, raça, gênero, nacionalidade, proveniência social, deficiências e orientação sexual”.

²⁴⁴ Original text: “inclusão dos trabalhadores e trabalhadoras da base nas atividades das Redes Sindicais”.

the booklet are near of a juridical language: “obligations”, “compromises”, “conditions” (CNTM 2013: 22-24). In the passage about IndustriALL’s role, it’s clear the preoccupation with formal aspects of a union, instead of political issues:

Union networks’ work is based on some essential rules, set up by IndustriALL:

- 1) Union’s political mandate for creating the union;
- 2) Responsibility of Union of Multinational country of origin;
- 3) Union as an independent organization;
- 4) Open and transparent union for all eager parts;
- 5) Each union decides about its own participation and employee’s participation [in the network];
- 6) Plan of Action, with: goals, themes, structures, ways of communicating, coordinator’s role, meetings, electronic communication;
- 7) Union’s goal: strengthening union power nationally, regionally, and globally (CNTM 2013: 15, my translation²⁴⁵).

A quite clear concern is the relative disadvantage of Brazilian workers due international whipsawing of transnational corporations “The goal of union networks is promoting cooperation and solidarity among unions affiliated to IndustriALL [...] to ensure that the rules of the game are the same to workers in conditions below minimum standards” (CNTM 2013: 5, my translation²⁴⁶).

As a matter of fact, at all networks, but mainly at Union Force affiliates, there’s a recurrent tension between established national union representative bodies and new ones, as labor unions:

A requiem of this tension is the debate around the definition of the network’s names. On the one hand, labor unionists from the Sole Union of Workers advocate that “workers’ networks” is a better term, since they should be open to all workers. On the other hand, unionists from other tendencies, especially those from the Union Force, requires the name “union networks”, so there’s no doubt that workers’ representatives should always be linked to labor unions. The justification of this position is that it would block the influence of companies

²⁴⁵ Original text: “Union networks’ work is based on some essential rules, set up by IndustriALL: 1) Mandato político do Sindicato para criação da Rede; 2) Responsabilidade do Sindicato do País de origem da Multinacional; 3) A Rede deve ser órgão sindical independente; 4) A Rede deve ser transparente e aberta a todos os Sindicatos interessados; 5) Cada Sindicato decide sobre participação própria e do representante da empresa; 6) Plano de Ação, contendo: Fins, Temas, Estruturas, Formas de comunicação, papel do Coordenador, Encontros, Meios eletrônicos; 7) Fim da Rede: fortalecer o poder sindical nacional, regional e global”.

²⁴⁶ Original text: “O objetivo do trabalho em Redes Sindicais é o de promover a cooperação e a solidariedade entre os sindicatos filiados à IndustriAll [...] para assegurar que as regras do jogo sejam as mesmas para os trabalhadores cujas condições estejam abaixo dos padrões mínimos”.

through other workers, however it's plausible that the preoccupation is guaranteeing that the network won't work as a parallel representation to unions. Something similar happens, for instance, on Workers' Commissions. These controversies we put aside, since there's another element conspiring for the network to be union's. Hardly ever a worker not linked to shop stewarding or Health and Safety is active in the network, since stability at work is required, once other [Brazilian] activities could be subject to firing and persecuting practices (Framil 2015: 19-20, my translation²⁴⁷).

Thus, international union network's narratives recurrently argument they are "a tool serving the union" (idem: 18) in the very beginning of a network's building. The success of convincing leaders through the "tool" will influence them in the success of a network itself.

Other issues addressed by the booklet are: social dialogue, focus in countries "in development", some historic of networks, and IndustriALL's role (horizontality; new technologies; directions; obligations; compromises; companies; conditions; aims; content; chances, problems, and conditions of union networks) (CNTM 2013: 20-26).

5.4 Semantic function

In this section I aim to analyze some online relevant documents related to international unionism on the daily-life of union organizations. The focus is on an intersectional approach: how union organizations manage to include diversity in international efforts somehow. As some relevant documents are not extensive enough for a quantitative analysis, the qualitative analysis is in place. The analysis on the

²⁴⁷ Original text: "Resquício dessa tensão é o debate em torno da definição do nome das redes. Por um lado, os sindicalistas da CUT defendem que elas devem ser chamadas de "rede de trabalhadores", uma vez elas devem estar abertas a quaisquer trabalhadores. Já sindicalistas de outras tendências, em especial aqueles da Força Sindical, exigem que elas sejam chamadas de "redes sindicais", para que não haja dúvida de que os representantes dos trabalhadores devem estar sempre vinculados ao sindicato. A justificativa dessa posição é que isso impediria a influência da empresa através de outros trabalhadores, mas é mais plausível que a preocupação seja garantir que a rede não funcionará como uma forma de representação paralela ao sindicato. Algo parecido ocorre, por exemplo, com a atuação das comissões de fábrica. Essa polêmica foi aos poucos sendo deixada de lado, já que há outro elemento que conspira para que a rede seja sempre sindical. É muito difícil que um trabalhador que não seja dirigente sindical ou exerça algum outro cargo que lhe garanta estabilidade no emprego consiga atuar regularmente na rede, uma vez que estaria vulnerável ao risco de demissão e de perseguição da empresa".

documents is on identity politics, which means that here nor union investment, nor success of each sector is analyzed at this section.

Since the hypothesis tested is that diversity increases the internationalization of union organizations, it's worth mentioning that prominent union networks in certain industries are already quite successful, due to structural power of workers (in our case studies, at the steel industry). CNTM's manual, for instance, mentions that "in recent years some union networks appeared. Among them we mention ThyssenKrupp, ZF, Daimler, Mahle, Bosch, VW, GM, Rheinmetall, Siemens, Schäffler, Continental and ArcelorMittal, among others" (CNTM 2013: 19, my translation²⁴⁸). In this quote, it's evident the success of union networks in heavy industries. Bearing this issue in mind, it's time to move on:

One common trend to all union journals and magazines regardless which central union they are affiliated to is the occurrence of words related to gender, but rarely related to other politics on identity. Thus, "woman" (*mulher*), "women" (*mulheres*), "metallurgical woman worker" (*metalúrgica*) are some keywords we might find relatively often into these documents, but not "youth" (*juventude*), "Black worker(s)" (*trabalhador/es negro/s*), "immigrant worker" (*trabalhador/a imigrante*) (see all word clouds below). This evidence might suggest that there's not a systematic identity politics formulated by these union organizations, but the incorporation of a specific gendered agenda from civil society organizations. Since Confederations in the union organization structures are more sensitive to central union political guidelines, this evidence also suggests that central unions are more sensitive to gender (and especially women, not LGBT) than to other identities.

This issue is highly important, since this research advocates that the more a union organization adopts a identity politics, more it is internationalized. The evidences show that Brazilian union organizations are still highly guided by local and national

²⁴⁸ Original text: "surgiram nos últimos anos algumas Redes Sindicais importantes. Entre elas contamos a ThyssenKrupp, ZF, Daimler, Mahle, Bosch, VW, GM, Rheinmetall, Siemens, Schäffler, Continental e ArcelorMittal, entre outras".

institutions, as already stated by an interviewee in this dissertation. For instance, common keywords in the sources are frequently related to “negotiations” (*negociações*). However, negotiations are not linked to the word “international”, which would indicate semantically that a global agenda is stated, but that the date base (negotiation date)²⁴⁹ is considered an important issue. Still, it’s important pointing out that names of union leaders - for instance, Cida Trajano at CNTRV and Fernando Lopes at CUTMulti and Brasil Metal documents, as well as the word “president” - are quite frequent. This reinforces the suggestion that union organizations are either corporatist, national, and guided by the role of the leader, frequently the President, before investing in international efforts.

The finding that Brazilian confederations don’t have a programmatic identity politics does not prevent us of testing the hypothesis. Not having a clearly stated identity politics still allows a union to be more inclusive in “other issues” such as gender and the international.

Regarding the metallurgical sector and for the newspapers²⁵⁰, at the unions affiliated to CNM²⁵¹ there are the incidence of keywords “woman/en” (*mulher/es*) (38), “women worker” (*trabalhadora*) (19), and “metallurgical” (*metalúrgica*) (34). See word cloud 1 below for an overview of communication at CNM’s affiliates.

²⁴⁹Date in which anual negotiation with the employer is held. Date bases are different for each professional category in each city or region.

²⁵⁰ The documents were chosen according to the following methodology in order to not get the sample biased: at CNTM there are newspapers at the Confederation level from 2009 to 2015. These were firstly collected. Next, since CNM doesn’t publish newspapers, we collected newspapers at the union level in organizations with Gerdau’s workers at the following cities: Natal, Pindamonhangaba, Sorocaba, Pernambuco, Sapiranga, Porto Alegre e Charqueadas. Next, we chose some samples at the same month and year of newspapers at CNTM, for instance, September 2009, always exchanging newspaper’s samples among the labor unions at CNM.

²⁵¹CNM’s documents have 4,303 words. Documents were available for 2010-2016.

workers (Folha Metalúrgica 2009); metallurgical professional category²⁵² (Sindicato dos Metalúrgicos de Pernambuco 2009; Jornal Zé Ferrugem 2014; A Força Metal 2015; Folha Metalúrgica 2009), metallurgical companies (Jornal Zé Ferrugem 2014; Folha Metalúrgica 2010), metallurgical industry (Sindimetp 2011), and metallurgical news (Folha Metalúrgica 2009 and 2010; A Força Metal 2015).

“Woman” or “women” are linked to social function such as women as main actress(es) of labor struggles (Sindimetp 2010), workers (A Força Metal 2012), person(s) with rights (A Força Metal 2015; Folha Metalúrgica 2016), and actress(es) against gendered violence (Folha Metalúrgica 2016). Thus, there’s a semantic function of women with aspects of protagonism and rights.

Other issues worth of attention are the promotion of a Woman’s week (Folha Metalúrgica 2016), the attention to the triple journey, and the history of Women’s Day (Sindicato dos Metalúrgicos de Pernambuco 2009). Still, an article about institutional racism was also covered (Alerta Geral 2015).

At CNTM’s newspapers²⁵³, there were 41 occurrences for “woman/women” (*mulher/mulheres*), 59 occurrences for “women workers” (*trabalhadoras*) and 56 for “metallurgical” (*metalúrgica*). See word cloud 1 below for an overview of communication at CNM’s affiliates.

²⁵² In the Portuguese language, differently from the English language, some nouns are gendered, as workers. In Portuguese it is always said “working man” or “working women”. This is important in policy making at union organizations because paying attention to gender bias demonstrate attention to identity politics as well. Since “metallurgical professional category” (*categoria metalúrgica*) is quite common in union leaders’ narratives due to the formal Brazilian structure, it’s worth checking whether “metallurgical” (*metalúrgica*) - a word often found in the documents - is mostly linked to “professional category” or “women”. Same for other Confederations.

²⁵³ CNTM’s documents have 3,901 words. Documents were available for 2009-2015.

“Woman” or “women” are usually not expressed in persons, but at the level of institutions, mainly in specific dates directed to women: CNTM valorates women’s participation at labor unions (2012), at the International Women’s Day (2009), Maria da Penha Law (2015), Women’s Conference (2009b), Metallurgical Women’s network (2011), through the institution of equal opportunities, Women’s Plenary (2014), equal pay, and maternity leave(2011).

It’s not possible to compare properly CNM and CNTM magazines, since the latter has only two magazine samples available online and one of them is a special issue for women (would let the sample biased) and the other one just a propaganda about other ways of communication of this confederation.

Regarding the garment sector and for the newspapers, at CNTRV²⁵⁵ there are the incidence of keywords “woman/en worker/es” (*mulher/es trabalhadora/s*) (16 occurrences), “(woman) president” (*presidenta*) (18), “sewing women” (*costureira*) (9), and “professional category” (*categoria*) (29). See word cloud 3 below for an overview of the communication at CNTRV.

²⁵⁵ CNTRV documents have 3,652 words. Documents were available for 2009-2011.

As for the semantic functions of CONACCOVEST's newspapers, "sewing women" are linked to the union's name (for instance, Sindicato das Costureiras de São Paulo e Osasco; Sindicato das Costureiras de Fortaleza; Sindicato das Costureiras de Belo Horizonte, Sindicato das Costureiras e Trabalhadores nas Indústrias de Fiação, Tecelagem, Vestuário, Couro e Calçados de Catalão/GO; Sindicato dos Oficiais Alfaiates, Costureiras e Trabalhadores nas Indústrias de Confeções de Roupas, Cama, Mesa e Banho de Belo Horizonte e Região Metropolitana) (CONACCOVEST 2008, 4 times; 2009a, 2 times; 2009b, 2 times; 2010, 3 times; 2011, 4 times; 2012a, 4 times; 2012b, 11 times; 2013a, 8 times; 2013b, 3 times; 2016, once) and "unionized sewing women" (*sindicostureiras*) are also mostly linked to union's names (Sindcostureiras de Maracanaú-CE) (2012a, once). The word "working" is mostly linked to the "working class" (*classe trabalhadora*), not "working woman/en" (*mulher trabalhadora*) (CONACCOVEST 2008, 4 times; 2010, 3 times; 2011; 2012a, 3 times). There are the figure of "sewing women" as worker (2011, 2 times), also linked to Health and Safety (2009b, 3 times - opinion article). Indeed, "working woman" appears once (2009a). Women (and youth, world and international) has a higher frequency of words in events promoted by IndustriALL (2016, 12 times), due to the specific agenda of this international organization. "Woman/en" is linked to a Congress in which the word "working woman" was also approached due to the context (2011).

One quite interesting issue that illustrates how women is perceived in labor unions is a Congress of Women in a pole of this industry (at Birigui city) (2012b, 4 times). In an issue, it can be noted a "Miss Textile" competition, in which "most beautiful" garment working women were involved in competition among female workers for whom would be the most beautiful worker. Pictures show a hegemonic pattern of beauty and implicitly the reproduction of women to be beautiful, not warrior, worker, diverse or interested in other issues. In this same event the word "woman worker" appears 2 times and there's a small note about the International Women's Day (2013a, 4 times).

Other issues at CONACCOVEST's newsletter were "working world" (CONACCOVEST 2008, 2 times; 2010, once); the International Program for the Elimination of Child Work (Programa Internacional para a Eliminação do Trabalho Infantil – IPEC) from the ILO (CONACCOVEST 2008, 2 times); at the World Social Forum the advocacy for the Environment, Women's rights, indigenous and Black populations, and workers (2009a; 2012a); international organization's participation on child work (2008); the receptioning of the Argentinian Ministry of Work (2009b); the Term of Conduct Adjustment (Termo de Ajuste de Conduta) from Zara (Inditex) with the Public Ministry (2012a) and a meeting with Inditex and IndustriALL to deal with the case (2013a), although at any moment the scandal with Bolivian workers demonstrated throughout this research was mentioned.

As general conclusions, I divide the analysis into documental (qualitative analysis directly over documents of central unions and confederations) and semantic function (qualitative analysis of semantic functions in newspapers). Before going to this divide, it's worth of mention that it seems to exist an earlier preoccupation of CUT that originates more debates, is less formal, but presents lower implications in results. This tiny difference is going to be analyzed next.

Regarding documental qualitative analysis on central unions at the metallurgical sector, the Sole Union of Workers' (social movement unionism) booklet CUTMulti clearly addresses identity politics, while Union Force (business unionism) doesn't have a specific manual for international union efforts and promotion and other documents don't have a clear identity politics. Still, it's worth highlighting again that while Sole Union of Workers (social movement unionism) names international networks as "workers networks", while Union Force (business unionism) prefers the term "union's networks". These preferences suggest major concern with workers' empowerment and institutions, respectively.

At the level of Confederations, on the metallurgical sector although CNM (social movement unionism) doesn't richly address identity politics, it has a 30% of

gender quota on the program *Action Against Multinationals*, brings a strong international agenda to the debate, and from 2012 on is more concerned with diversity. CNTM (business unionism), on its turn, it's more concerned with national formal structures, and when internalizes identity politics is due to an external agenda from international or foreign labor organizations (as IndustriALL); CNTM pays more attention to national issues. It's worth mentioning, still, that CNM (social movement unionism) promotes international unionism since 2006 and CNTM (business unionism), since 2012.

On the textile sector, at CNTRV (social movement unionism), specific issues regarding Black workers, gender and youth were addressed, and also the relation with IndustriALL. At CONACCOVEST (business unionism), international meetings, slave labor and indigenous workers were mentioned. Therefore, there's higher incidence of identity politics issues on CNTRV (social movement unionism), than on CONACCOVEST (business unionism).

Regarding semantic functions at the metallurgical sector, in the analysis of Confederation's newspapers it's possible to state that there's a higher incidence of semantic function between "metallurgical" and "women" at CNM (social movement unionism) than at CNTM (business unionism), usually linked to rights. In the latter, although there is a high incidence of the word metallurgical, it's mostly a complementary noun to express group of workers. Additionally, regarding the keyword "woman" or "women", it's possible to state that at CNM (social movement unionism) the narrative of women are usually linked to rights as historical conquests in which women had to fight to have, while at CNTM (business unionism) "woman" or "women" are usually not expressed in first persons, but at the level of institutions, mainly in specific dates directed to women, for instance, unions and collective bargaining through the union. It's worth stressing that Confederations are more likely to adopt political official agendas, since at the level of the union relevant issues are considered collective bargaining, Health and Safety, and strikes. In other words, if it could be possible to analyze CNM's newspapers (social movement unionism), the result would be even better for the Confederation.

Semantic functions on the textile demonstrate that “woman/women” at CNTRV (social movement unionism) are related to semantic functions of woman/women as working class, sewing women, and women worker. Also, there’s an effort for gender neutrality on CNTRV’s narratives. Other events include mention to Maria da Penha law, moral and sexual harassment, Woman Worker Department at the Sole Union of Workers, and Bolivian workers. At CONACCOVEST (business unionism), sewing women are connected to labor union’s names, and working women appears at the documents only once. Women, youth, world and international are mentioned, but specifically at an IndustriALL’s event. Also, in an event for workers in one labor union, a beauty competition is promoted, which suggests the reinforcement of gendered roles.

FINAL REMARKS

This thesis was written before, during and after Trump's run for election and the raise of right-wing governments in Latin America and elsewhere. As a Latina researcher that is proud of her own identity and having studying immigration, labor, union and gender in the Global South, the research seemed to reinforce first thoughts about what a union is for. In the United States, massive Trump voters were white and unionized working men - which led to AFL-CIO's president to public support the now *pentejo* in chief - and in Brazil the former president of the Union Force, the business unionism central, supported a *coup* that led to a labor reform and is probably going to reach more the most vulnerable workers. After all, some union organizations seem to have their existence to reproduce, reinforce, and deepen the *status quo*.

Two are the feasible answers to workers in a globalized economy of increasing concentration of incomes: to get xenophobic and prejudiced, or to be solidary and focused on combating the 1%. The US and Europe chose the first option. In Latin America more conservative and recent fascist narrative among working classes became more and more common.

As Global Supply Chains are increasingly dominating the world economy - fostering the 1% -, labor responses at the international level seem to be a good subject of analysis. Having the issues above stated in mind, this research aimed to analyze labor responses to the power of multinational corporations. The dissertation suggests that a broader and inclusive perspective that incorporates all workers is the better response in a globalizing economy that invests in some vulnerabilities (for instance, new niches of labor market in Africa and Asia) at the same time turn relative stable and well-paid workers more vulnerable (for instance, workers with some labor power in Europe and the US).

The issue addressed, then, is *which kind* of labor configurations are designed and labor struggles are promoted? Or, as stated before, why are some sectors more

precarious than others and why are some international networks are more successful than others?

This research is guided by arguments related to diversity of labor markets, intersectionality and social markers of difference: how labor markets are designed according to industries and success of international networks are due to variables of gender, race, class, age, and nationality²⁵⁷. So, although power in the relation of labor and capital is taken into consideration – the Libertarian Marxist analysis²⁵⁸ over labor markets -, the analysis pays attention also to power dynamics *within* union organizations - the Foucauldian analysis that observes also micro power relations into labor markets and unions.

In the first chapter, a theoretical contribution is developed in relation to identity politics, identified through the concept of intersectionality and social markers of difference. This theoretical question guided empirical research and was demonstrated through global, regional, or national evidences. The results show that labor markets are indeed fragmented through gender, race, age, and regions/nations, besides class, and that both “right” and “left” politics can fail in addressing diversity. The chapter also shows that there are successful experiences in labor organizations to represent all workers and presents the Libertarian Marxist and Foucauldian theoretical framework conjugated with intersectionality. Chapter one finalizes with a literature review that positions the authors and texts on international union networks to demonstrate the novelty of this dissertation – intersectionality is worth when diagnosing labor conditions in global supply chain and in proposing political agendas into labor organizations.

Chapter two demonstrates how the international labor unionism was historically drawn, from the early efforts through internationalism, to First Internationals, World and Cold Wars to nowadays global struggles. The chapter demonstrates how the international labor movement moved from a confrontational perspective to a governance

²⁵⁷Other variables might coexist in other studies; these are the variables in this research.

²⁵⁸The premise is that structures of power are everywhere, including in personal relations, and takes lots of forms, including patriarchal and racial forms.

paradigm based on tripartism, social dialogue, alliances with other social movements and non-binding agreements. Also, it demonstrates how new international labor organizations concentrate hegemony in the hands of specific national labor organizations from the Global North, a step further on asymmetric power relations among national labor organizations from the Global North and South.

On chapter three, an intersectional analysis of global supply chains in the industries are stated over specific international corporations: Gerdau and Inditex. First, a brief history and governance mechanisms of the companies are reported, then comparative models of global supply chains are demonstrated, (Brazilian) workers' profiles are presented – as well as the most vulnerable population at Inditex's GSC, Bolivian workers. Also, other issues besides intersectional ones to understand GSC are demonstrated, as technical education of workers, mobility of production plants, company's origin, and the role of states. This chapter shows that the global supply chains analysed are also a robust evidence of social markers of difference between capital and labor, as most CEOs, high managers or white collar staff are usually white and European while the rank-and-file workers are Brown, Black or Indigenous. Also, the chapter demonstrates, when comparing Bolivian to Brazilian workers at the garment industry, differences of working conditions and wages *within* the labor force *in the same industry*.

Chapter Four demonstrates that social markers of difference result in actual international union networks, since depending on how a labor market is designed according to an industry, labor responses are designed according to these labor markets. Outcomes of the chapter show, on the one hand, that a bottom-up international union network is found at Gerdau, which is a empowered and empowering form of self-organizing against the power of multinational corporations is held *by workers alone*. On the other hand, a top-down international union network is found at Inditex, which is a disempowered fragmented global supply chain is led by specific leadership at Inditex on IndustriALL, together with the head of Inditex's high management. More worrying is the fact that most vulnerable workers – Bolivians for

example - simply don't participate in this governance mechanism. They are basically eliminated from Inditex's global supply chain with no awareness of labor leaders on Inditex.

Chapter five shows there's correlation between political orientation of labor organizations and likelihood to internationalize; the Sole Union of Workers (social movement unionism) is more internationalized than the Union Force (business unionism). The argument is that social movement unionism is aware of other worth issues (as intersectionality) and alliances than sole local, formal, bureaucratic representation and, thus, more politicized and open to (international) partnerships. Evidences that the Sole Union of Workers is more internationalized than the Union Force were shown during the whole dissertation (union leaders in international organizations, CUTMulti and the project *Action Against Multinationals*, the metallurgical confederation promoting international unionism before confederations linked to other central unions). As demonstrated through qualitative analysis on documents, the Sole Union of Workers (social movement unionism) and its confederations are indeed more internationalized than the Union Force (business unionism) and its confederations: the firsts have a clearer identity politics agenda, while the latter is more concerned with national formal structures.

As a general conclusion, it can be argued that as labor markets take advantage of beares of gender, race, age, and nation, but also other institutions, so national and international labor organizations. Also, it's possible to conclude that labor organizations are more likely to internationalize if they go beyond merely formal functions of unions (as business unionism do) and incorporate other social agenda in common struggles (as new social unionism proposes), probably because NSU models are more politicized to other issues than solely bureaucratic formal union representation.

Some limits of this research are related mainly to other potential variables not analyzed on chapter five. For instance, the role of the leader might be a relevant influence in determining the likelihood of a labor organization to internationalize. Also,

access to documents on the Confederations' websites were limited, mainly in the garment sector.

Something that could be developed as future research is the ways global supply chains develop in different industries and how they may relate of the deepening of discrimination and inequality against women, Black and indigenous people, migrants, LGBTs and others in the social context where they are inserted, especially in global supply chains.

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ANNEXES

Annex 1

Fieldwork

Researcher: Katiuscia Galhera

Interview with union representative from the textile industry in São Paulo

1. Contar uma pouco do sindicato das costureiras. Sua trajetória pessoal como sindicalista;
2. Se o sindicato das costureiras (e a Confederação) pensam em organizar o trabalho informal. Como lidar com a especificidade boliviana/ a MO migrante e informal para fortalecer a ação sindical. Como;
3. Como o sindicato organizado/ trabalhadores organizados podem contribuir para o respeito aos direitos trabalhistas no vestuário;
4. Terceirização: qual sua posição como CUT e sua a respeito da terceirização do vestuário;
5. Quais as questões de gênero que perpassam a organização do trabalho na costura;
6. Paradoxo da costura boliviana ser predominantemente masculina e a costura em SP é feminina. Como o sindicato vê isso;
7. Trabalho escravo: como ela enxerga o papel das instituições. Setor privado tem 1 papel? Monitoramento privado faz sentido? Parceria público-privada (MPT, sindicatos, OnGs e empresas faz sentido)? Podem aumentar a eficiência e eficácia do monitoramento? Se não, por que?
8. Quem, em última instância, tem que cumprir a adesão às regras? Quem garante o direito do trabalhador?
9. Como uma central sindical estadunidense pode ajudar a organizar os trabalhadores da costura?

Annex 2

Fieldwork

Researcher: Katiuscia Galhera

Interview with union representatives in at the Gerdau World Committee meeting (Buenos Aires, 2014), steel union representatives at Pittsburgh meeting (2015) and other relevant union leaders from 2013 to 2017

1. Apresentação: por gentileza, diga seu nome, idade, sexo, cor, país de origem, atual posição como dirigente sindical e função na fábrica antes de virar dirigente.
2. Como você percebe o processo de internacionalização das empresas?
 - 2.1. Quais são os principais impactos das ações das multinacionais para os trabalhadores e sindicatos, em sua opinião?
 - 2.2. Sabemos que as multinacionais se aproveitam de mão-de-obra local barata para mudar seu processo produtivo para uma determinada região, deixando outros trabalhadores desempregados. Em sua opinião essa utilização de “vantagem comparativa” pelas grandes empresas diminui com a ação das redes? Como e por quê?
 - 2.3. As especificidades do desenho sindical dos países influencia a organização dos trabalhadores em rede? Quais são as influências? Em sua opinião elas são positivas, negativas ou ambas? Cite um exemplo na Gerdau.
 - 2.4. Há perdas (residuais) para trabalhadores e sindicatos na organização em rede? Quais são?
 - 2.5. Quais foram as principais divergências entre os sindicatos participantes em rede até agora?
 - 2.6. Você acha que a ação das redes sindicais está desafiando a lógica dos sindicatos de corte nacional? Como e por quê? E quanto às pequenas empresas? Você acha que a mesma lógica se aplica?
 - 2.7. Há sindicatos nos chamados países do “sul”/ em desenvolvimento que acreditam que a chegada de grandes empresas é benéfica por causa do aumento de ofertas de emprego localmente, sem refletir sobre a perda de postos de trabalho em outras regiões como decorrência. O que você acha? Como estimular a cooperação com os companheiros do “norte”/ dos países desenvolvidos?
3. Como a base dos trabalhadores percebe a organização em rede em seu país?
4. Há participação de mulheres e negros/as no processo produtivo em seu país? Qual você diria que é a participação porcentual desses/as trabalhadores/as no processo produtivo?

- 4.1. Você acha que essa distribuição de trabalhadores/as mulheres e negros/as se reflete, na mesma medida, na liderança sindical?
- 4.2. Quais são as medidas para maior democracia participativa de mulheres e negros no sindicato e na central sindical do seu país?
- 4.3. Quais são as barreiras para a construção da rede? (Língua, dinheiro, custo de manutenção, diferenças nacionais, participação e orientação política dos sindicatos e centrais, interesse, estrutura/ departamentos internacionais bilíngues nos sindicatos e centrais, etc.)
5. Quais são os principais desafios da manutenção de uma rede sem o reconhecimento patronal e sem um Acordo Marco Internacional na rede de trabalhadores da Gerdau?
6. As características setoriais da siderurgia facilitam ou dificultam a formação da rede na Gerdau? Por quê?
7. Você acredita que a ação internacional dos sindicatos e centrais sindicais na participação das redes é resultado de uma orientação política ou prática/ pragmática? Por quê?
8. Como fazer para que os sindicatos tenham maior participação em decisões que podem levar a acordos comerciais liberalizantes, como o recentemente realizado entre Colômbia e EUA, ou o próprio NAFTA? Como aproveitar janelas de oportunidades políticas nesse contexto?

Annex 3

Fieldwork

Researchers: Katiuscia Galhera and João Paulo Veiga

Interview with union Brazilian authorities responsible for State labor regulation

1. Do ponto de vista da regulação/legislação trabalhista brasileira, quais são as razões para a dificuldade em fiscalizar/coibir as práticas de violação na cadeia do vestuário em São Paulo?
2. Em que a discussão jurídica em torno da terceirização explica o quadro recente de violação no que se refere ao trabalho análogo à escravidão?
3. Até que ponto grandes empresas (Renner, Zara, C&A, Marisa etc) que vendem vestimenta/confecção podem ajudar as autoridades a coibir e prevenir o trabalho escravo/infantil na cadeia do vestuário? Quais incentivos as autoridades poderiam gerar para ajustar o comportamento das grandes empresas?
4. Você acredita que informação de boa qualidade poderia prevenir a ocorrência dessas violações? Se sim, quem poderia prover essa informação? Os sindicatos? AS universidades? O Ministério Público do Trabalho?
5. No caso da Zara, por que a empresa demorou tanto para reconhecer o problema e tomar ações para resolvê-lo? Você acredita que essas ocorrências envolvendo grandes empresas têm efeito pedagógico sobre o mercado, ou seja, ajuda a coibir as violações? Por que?
6. A condição da/do boliviano/a migrante, muita vezes ilegal, facilita as violações trabalhistas no Brasil/São Paulo? Por que?
7. Há elementos culturais presentes na migração boliviana que favorecem/dificultam as violações trabalhistas? Quais?
8. A questão do trabalho da costura no Brasil é tradicionalmente feminino, o que contrasta com o trabalho do migrante boliviano na costura que é masculino. Qual é o impacto dessa assimetria para as autoridades públicas no trabalho de prevenção/autuação das violações? Você acha que existe alguma implicação? Qual?
9. Você considera que o papel da mulher boliviana que trabalha na costura no Brasil, de forma legal ou ilegal, traz alguma dificuldade/facilidade para as autoridades brasileiras? Quais?
10. Você acredita que as autoridades constituídas, as empresas, as ONGs, os sindicatos, e as universidades podem ter um papel em diminuir a ocorrência de violações na cadeia do vestuário em São Paulo? Qual é a saída?

Annex 4

Fieldwork

Researchers: Katiuscia Galhera, João Paulo Veiga, and social workers from the NGO Centro de Apoyo al Migrante (CAMI)

Interview with Bolivian women workers in sweatshops in São Paulo

EL TRABAJO DE LA MUJER IMIGRANTE EN SÃO PAULO**Cuestionario CAMI - Gaspar Garcia: 7ª marcha de los Inmigrantes 01/12/2013**

Entrevistadora: _____

Edad _____ Nombre _____

Estado civil () casada () soltera () divorciada () concubina

Hijos? () Si () No. Cuántos? _____ Cuántos años tienen ellos? _____

Departamento: _____ Provincia: _____ ciudad/ área urbana () campo/ área rural

1. En que trabajas? _____

1.1 Como trabajas?

() soy autónoma/ vendo mis pezas () tengo un jefe/ soy (sub)contratada

Vives en el mismo lugar de trabajo? () si () no

El alquiler de la casa donde vives es descontado de su sueldo? () si () no

1.2 De que trabajas? Especifique (marque mas que una si necesario):

Trabajo	Esta función es remunerada? Pagan a ti por la función?
() limpieza	() si () no
() cocina	() si () no
() ropas	() si () no
() cuidado con los niños	() si () no
() ayudante	() si () no
() infestadora	() si () no
() rectista	() si () no
() overlockista	() si () no
() galonera	() si () no

- ☐ corte ☐ si ☐ no
☐ pago (sueldos, tejido, alquiler etc) ☐ si ☐ no
☐ transporte ☐ si ☐ no
☐ negociación con las compañías ☐ si ☐ no
☐ otros. ☐ si ☐ no

Especificar otros: _____

1.3 Como es el trabajo en el taller? Cuales son las etapas del trabajo?

1.4 Hay trabajos hechos por hombres y otros por mujeres?

1.5 En que trabajabas en Bolivia? A ti le gustaba su trabajo en Bolivia? El trabajo en Brasil es mejor? Por qué decidiste venir a Brasil? Y por qué Brasil (no Argentina, Estados Unidos, España e etc.)? Usted o su familia pagó los custos del viaje? ☐ si ☐ no Quién lo hize?

1.6 Fue lo que esperabas al venir a Brasil? ☐ si o ☐ no. Por que? Sabías que iba trabajar en la costura? ☐ si o ☐ no

1.7 Su documento se quedó con su jefe? ☐ si ☐ no

1.8 Lo que debes o debió en Brasil? ☐ comida ☐ aluguel ☐ pasaje ☐ nada

1.9 Tienes una cartera de empleo en Brasil (es formalizada)? ☐ si ☐ no. Sabes que en Brasil los trabajadores y trabajadoras tienen derechos como sueldo mínimo, ferias, jornada de 8 horas? ☐ si ☐ no. Usted tiene acceso a los mismos derechos de los brasileños? ☐ si ☐ no. Porque?

1.10 Como son las condiciones en su empleo? ☐ buenas ☐ malas

El trabajo es exhaustivo? ☐ si ☐ no

Hay niños en el mismo local de empleo? ☐ si ☐ no

Los niños ayudan sus madres o papas en el trabajo? ☐ si ☐ no

Hay muchas personas en el sitio de trabajo? ☐ si ☐ no

Sientes calor o frio en el ambiente de trabajo? ☐ si ☐ no

Como es la iluminación? () Buena () Mala

Las máquinas ofrecen un peligro para la salud (cables o partes sueltas, etc.)?

() si () no

Usted o alguna de los suyos compañeros de trabajo tienen o tuvieron algún accidente de trabajo o enfermedad debido al trabajo? () si () no.

Cuánto usted recibe por pieza? Y por mes? ¿Qué se puede hacer para mejorar su condición en el trabajo? Y para ganar más?

1.11 Tú trabajas de que horas hasta que horas?

2 Tú pareja vive contigo en Brasil?

Si vives contigo en Brasil: te ayuda con limpieza, cocina, ropas o cuidado con los niños dónde viven ustedes hoy? () Si () No En que?

2. 3Cuales son la dificultades que enfrentas aquí? Creche (guardería) () Si () No En que? Salud () Si () No En que? Por qué no reclamas?

3. Quieres volver a Bolivia? () si () no. En cuánto tiempo? Es feliz en Brasil? Percibes prejuicio? Deseas decir alguna cosa más?

Informaciones adicionales:

Annex 5

Fieldwork

Researchers: Katiuscia Galhera and Denny Monteiro

Interview with USAS' activists

What is your race?	
White/Caucasian	
African American	
Hispanic	
Asian	
Native American	
Pacific Islander	
Other	

How old are you?	
17 or under	
18-19	
20-21	
22-23	
24-25	
25-26	
27 or over	

Do you consider yourself to be:	
Heterosexual or straight	
Gay	
Lesbian	
Bisexual	
Asexual	
Other. Please specify:	

What is your current gender identity?	
Male	
Female	

Trans male/Trans man	
Trans female/Trans woman	
Genderqueer/Gender non-conforming	
Different identity (please state):	

Are you vegan or vegetarian?	
Yes	
No	

Do you consider yourself to be part of the:	
Lower class	
Working class	
Middle class	
Upper class	

With what religious family do you most closely identify?	
Protestant	
Catholic	
Mormon	
Orthodox Christian	
Jehovah's Witness	
Jewish	
Muslim	
Buddhist	
Hindu	
None: Atheist	
Agnostic	
Nothing in particular	
Other (please specify)	

To which College do you belong?	
Agricultural Sciences	
Arts and Architecture	
Business	
Communications	
Earth and Mineral Sciences	
Education	
Engineering	
Health and Human Development	
Information Sciences and Technology	
The Liberal Arts	
Medicine/Nursing	
Law	
Science	
Other. Please specify:	

Why did you join USAS?	
------------------------	--

What makes you stay as an USAS member?	
--	--

	Far too much	Moderately too much	Slightly too much	Neither too much nor too little	Slightly too little	Moderately too little	Far too little
How important is Collective Liberation to USAS?							
How important is diversity to USAS?							

Click to write Statement 5							
How much diversity contribute to USAS's actions?							
How much do you feel your identity is represented in USAS?							
In your opinion, what empowers USAS?							